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BOOKS AND READERS, 1591-4

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PROFESSIONAL interpreters of literature are apt to forget that those books which are normally included in their survey form but a small part of the reading even of a cultured and intelligent reader in any generation. It seemed therefore worth while to look rather closely at the books which were being written and discussed during the years 1591-4: for this was the period when Shakespeare was learning his business, and, incidentally, taking in many of those impressions which he afterwards produced as his own.

Chronology is the basis of historical and comparative criticism, and in a detailed examination it is desirable first to arrive at some method of fixing the date of publication of any particular book. In theory the *Stationers' Register* should help us to do this; as every book ought to have been entered before printing, it should not be difficult to arrive at a rough calculation of the time taken to produce any given work. In practice, however, the Elizabethan printer was as casual over his entries in the *Stationers' Register* as in his obedience to any other kind of regulation. Though most of the books were entered before printing, many were never entered at all; some were entered after printing but before publication; some after publication.

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society, 17 October 1927.

Dr. Pollard has established the principle of the blocking entry, used, for instance, by James Roberts, to prevent the unauthorized publication of some of Shakespeare's plays; but at least these plays were in existence. It is not so generally realized that some of the entries in the *Register* were made before the books were even written.

The difficulty of examining the entries is increased by the Elizabethan practice of dating the new year both by the Christian reckoning (beginning with the Feast of the Annunciation, 25 March) and by the Julian Calendar (1 Jan.). If either method had been consistently used by printers, calculations would be easier; but as they seem to have used both, a book dated 1592 may have been published at any time from 1 January 1592 to 25 March 1593.

Some examples of each may be given.

1. *Books not entered*

The *Short Title Catalogue* shows that many books were never entered; but there seems to be no principle governing either entry or omission. Of 36 books written by Greene, 29 were entered. Greene wrote a series of five Conny-catching pamphlets in 1591 and 1592; the *Notable discovery of Coosenage*, the *Second part of conny-catching* and the *Third part* were entered; the fourth in the series—*A disputation betweene a hee conny-catcher and a shee conny-catcher*—was omitted; the fifth—*The blacke bookes messenger*—was entered. Only 6 out of 16 works by Lodge were entered; whilst of 11 by Nashe, only 3 were left out—two anti-Martinist pamphlets, and *Haue with you to Saffron-walden*, whose omission is not surprising. Hence, of these three authors, 20 books out of a total of 63 were not entered, or rather less than a third.

For the four years the total number of new books entered was roughly 138 in 1591, 136 in 1592, 110 in 1593 (a plague year), rising to 162 in 1594. These figures are approximate, as

it is not always possible to tell whether a book is new or old, though entered for the first time. In 1591, for instance, the total includes 14 foreign works entered to Wolfe, and 9 classics, all entered together. In 1592, 5 ballads, included in the total, may be old ballads, entered to maintain copyright. A margin of error of at least 10 per cent. should therefore be allowed in all totals mentioned in this paper.

2. Normal Entry

It is rare for the biography of a book to survive. One instance is Simon Forman's *Grounds of Longitude*. Forman noted in his Diary that he sent the book to the press on 6 July 1591; it was entered on 12 July, and published before the end of the year. Another instance is *The most strange discoverie of the three witches of Warboys*, who were executed on 7 April 1593. A long account of the affair was submitted for entry with a covering letter from Justice Fenner on 30 June. The book was probably published at the end of November, as a ballad, *The Lamentable Song of the Three Witches of Warboys*, was entered on 4 December, being presumably founded on the printed book.

Ballads were often published when a sensational book or play came out, and publishers sometimes entered both book and ballad together to secure their double right. Thus on 29 August 1594 Gosson, Millington, and Dawson entered a pamphlet describing the execution of Thomas Merry for murdering Robert Beeche and his servant, and at the same time a ballad of 'Beche his ghoste, complayninge on ye wofull 'murder committed on him and Thomas Winchester his 'Servaunt'.

3. Books entered after printing

Two instances may be quoted. The first is Greene's *Notable discoverie of Coosenage*, which was entered as *The Arte of Connye katchinge*, together with the *Second parte of Connye*

katchinge, on 13 December 1591. Greene in his preface to the *Second Part* wrote: 'but heere, by the way, giue me leaue to 'answere an obiection, that some inferred against me; which 'was, that I shewed no eloquent phrases, nor fine figurative 'conueiance in my first booke as I had done in other of my 'workes.' *The notable discovery* had therefore been published and criticized before the preface to the *Second part* was written.

A second instance is Simon Kellwaye's *Defensative against the plague*, which is worth following in detail because the evidence is unusually full. The book was entered on 21 March 1593. An epistle dedicatory to the Earl of Essex is dated 25 March 1592 (i.e. 1593); the Epistle to the Reader is dated 25 March 1593; next comes a commendation of the author by George Baker, dated 'from my chamber in Court this 7 of Aprill 1593'; finally, the preliminary matter ends with the 'Author to the Reader', noting the faults escaped, and dated 8 April 1593. The text of the book begins with signature B 1, as is usual with first editions, and contains 100 pages of matter, set up mainly in black letter, but with many medical prescriptions tabulated in roman and italic, and an index.

The history of the book's publication seems to be that as soon as the text had been set up, Windet took a copy to Stationers' Hall and entered it from the printed title-page, which reads: *A defensative against the Plague: containyng two partes or treatises: the first, showing the meanes how to preserve vs from the dangerous contagion thereof: the Second, how to cure those that are infected therewith.* The entry, except for the words 'showing the meanes', is word for word the same. Next, a few advance copies were assembled, without the preliminary matter, one of which the author sent to the Earl of Essex, others to his friends. Meanwhile the text was checked by Kellwaye, who on 8 April sent in the preliminary matter, corrections, and index.

If, on the other hand, this interpretation of the dates is

wrong and *A defensative against the Plague* was entered before printing, it follows that the whole of the text was set up, proofs read, and an index prepared between 21 March and 8 April, which seems improbable. Still, the Elizabethan printer could work rapidly, as the sequence of the first books in the Harvey-Nashe quarrel shows.

On 21 July 1592 Greene's *Quip for an upstart courtier* was entered: Gabriel Harvey's friend, Christopher Bird, had read a copy at Saffron Walden by 29 August.¹ Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse* was entered on 8 August, and Harvey answered it in the second letter of the *Four Letters*, dated 8 and 9 September. The fourth of Harvey's letters is dated 11 September, but the whole collection was not entered until 4 December, nearly three months later. On 12 January 1593 Nashe's reply, *Strange news of the intercepting certain letters*, was entered. Assuming that the books were entered before printing began these figures give an interesting table of rates of publication.

[As all four appear in the same format in Grosart's Huth Library, I have reckoned the pages and words from that edition.]

Book.	Pages.	Words.	Entered.	Published in less than.
<i>The Quip for an upstart courtier.</i>	83	23,000	21 July	39 days
<i>Pierce Penilesse.</i>	124	34,000	8 August	31 days
<i>Four letters.</i>	99	27,000	4 December	{ Published and written in 39 days
<i>Strange news.</i>	113	31,000	12 January	

Taking the last two together, *Four Letters* was printed, read by Nashe, and a reply of 31,000 words penned between 4 December and 12 January, unless (which I think quite probable) *Four Letters* was printed before entry.²

¹ See the first letter in Harvey's *Four Letters*.

² From my own experience of printers, publishers, and authors, I felt that this was most unlikely, but Mr. B. H. Newdigate, to whom I submitted the figures,

It will have been noticed by any one who has worked at all closely with the *Stationers' Register* that the title as entered sometimes varies considerably from that printed on the title-page, but that at other times quite a long title is quoted word for word, or else the beginning is quoted and the rest cut off by '&c.' The explanation, I suggest (though it cannot be proved definitely), is that when a 'long-tailed title' is accurately transcribed in the *Register*, then the entry was made from a *printed copy*. Thus, on the one hand (to go outside our period for a moment), Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* first appears in the *Register* as 'a booke of the Marchaunt of Venyce or otherwise called the Jewe of Venyce';¹ but on the title-page as 'The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice. With the extreame cruelties of Shylocke the Iewe towards the sayd Merchant, in cutting a iust pound of his flesh : and the obtaining of Portia by the choyse of three chests. As it hath beene diuers times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants. Written by William Shakespeare.' On the other hand the *Firste part of the Contention* is entered as 'the firste parte of the Contention of the twoo famous houses of York and Lancaster with the deathe of the good Duke Humfrey and the banishment and Deathe of the Duke of Suffolk and the tragicall ende of the prowde Cardinall of Winchester with the notable rebellion of Iack Cade and the Duke of Yorkes firste clayme vnto the Crowne', which is word for word the same as the title-page except that the *Register* reads 'of the twoo' for 'betwixt the twoo'.

One more instance may be noted.

replied that an Elizabethan compositor should have been able to set 27,000 words by hand in three weeks of sixty working hours ; and that, as printing could begin as soon as each sheet was set up, *Four Letters* might have been printed in ample time for Nashe to write his answer by 12 January.

¹ As the MSS. of *Sir Thomas More* and *John a Kent* are headed 'The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore' and 'The Book of John A Kent and John a Cumber'.

A news pamphlet, dealing with the war in France, was entered by Wolf on 5 July 1591 as 'the certen newes of the exploit donne in Britanie by the prince De Dombes and Sir John Norreis, with victory against the ligue. Authorised by order of the counsell certified under master Wylkes his hand one of the Clerkes to the counsell.' This entry was cancelled with the note 'entred vnderneath by the true title'. The re-entry runs: 'Entred for his copie by order of the counsell certified vnder master Wilkes his hand, a Iournall or brief report of the late service in Britanie by the prince De Dombes assisted with her maiesties forces vnder ye conduct of Sir John Norreis.' The title-page reads:

A Iournall, or Briefe report of the late seruice in Britaigne, by the Prince de Dombes Generall of the French Kings Army in those partes, assisted with her Maiesties forces at this present there, vnder the conduct of Sir Iohn Norreis: aduertised by letters from the said Prince to the Kings Ambassadour here resident with her Maiesty, and confirmed by like aduertisements from others, imployed in that seruice.

Published, to aunswere the slanderous brutes raised of late by some euill affected to that and other good actions, vndertaken against the enemy of Gods true Religion.

The book, in short, was a piece of propaganda issued at the order of the Privy Council.

4. *Blocking entry*

Blocking entries used to prevent the publication of a manuscript against the owner's wishes are usually difficult to establish, because when there is a wide interval between the date of entry and of the first known edition it may be due to the fact that no copy of an earlier issue has survived.

A probable instance of a blocking entry is Thomas Campion's *Observations in the arte of Englishe poesie*, entered on 12 October 1591. The earliest known edition is that of 1602, which evoked a reply in Daniel's *Defence of Ryme* (1603). On internal evi-

dence the *Observations* was more likely to have been written in 1591, when the use of classical metres in English verse was being widely discussed, but the 1602 edition bears every sign of being the first: it is, moreover, dedicated to the Lord Buckhurst as Lord High Treasurer, an office which in 1591 was held by Lord Burleigh.

Another instance is Sir Philip Sidney's *The defence of poesie*, which was entered on 29 November 1594. *Astrophel and Stella* had been published without the consent of the family in 1591, with a preface by Nashe, and it was apparently to prevent another unauthorized publication that Ponsonby (who was the authorized printer of Sidney's works) entered *The defence*. Some months later (12 April 1595) Olney entered and printed another version, *An apologie for poetry*, but Ponsonby naturally complained, the entry was cancelled, and the note added, 'This belongeth to master ponsonby by a former entrance And an agreement is made between them whereby Master Ponsonby is to enioy the copie according to the former entrance'. Ponsonby's edition is dated 1595.

5. *Books entered before they were written*

The evidence for this practice is simply cold chronology. On 25 January 1591 Captain Arnold Cosbye was executed forty-eight hours after trial for the murder of the Lord Burke; the same day was entered to Edward White *The arraynement and Condemnacion of Arnalt Cosbye for murderinge the lord Burghes*. It is a long semi-official account of the trial and gives a short note of the execution. On the other hand the 'mournfull Dyttye' which White produced on the same subject was not entered till 6 February, being forestalled by R. Robinson, who entered the 'sorrowfull sighes of a sadd soule' for the untimely loss of Lord Burke on 26 January.

Similarly, on 28 July 1591 was entered to Robert Bourne

The Life, araynement, Iudgement and Execution of William Hacket, who was quartered that morning in Cheapside, two days after his trial.¹

On 28 June 1592 John Parker and Anne Bruen were executed for poisoning John Bruen, goldsmith. The same day was entered to John Kyd, 'the Iudgment and execucon of John 'Parker, goldsmithe, and Anne Bruen for poysoninge her late 'husband John Bruen goldsmithe'. John Kyd was an enterprising publisher, who tried to forestall competitors by entering his book early; but the officials of the Company were not entirely satisfied, for there was added a note in the Register 'Provided that this booke before yt be printed shalbe drawen 'into good forme and order and then lauffullie allowed to be 'printed'. The title of the printed book is

The trueth of the most wicked and secret murthering of Iohn Brewen, Goldsmith of London, committed by his owne wife, through the prouocation of one Iohn Parker whom she loued: for which fact she was burned, and he hanged in Smithfield, on wednesday, the 28 of Iune, 1592, two yeares after the murther was committed.

The Bruen case was sensational—in some ways not unlike the Thompson-Bywaters case of our own time—and the usual ballads followed. Jeffs got in with 'The Lamentation of Agnes Bruen' on 1 July: Wolfe followed with 'A ballad of the Burnynge of Anne Bruen' on 10 July, and 'John Parker's lamentacon' on the 11th: finally Jeffs provided another 'lamentacion' for John Parker on the 15th. This last entry from its fullness suggests that the ballad was already in print; it reads: 'The 'Lamentacion of John Parker whoe for consenting to the 'murder of John Bruen was hanged in Smithfeild the 28 of

¹ *The Short Title Catalogue* (I think wrongly) assigns this entry to Dr. Richard Cosin's *Conspiracie for pretended reformation*, printed by Christopher Barker, a very long official account of the events leading up to Hacket's conspiracy, written at the order of Archbishop Whitgift. It was published in 1592, and is dated 30 September 1591 in the preface. No copy of Bourne's book survives.

'June 2 yeres after the fact was committed to the tune of 'fortune.' The similarity between this title and the title of the pamphlet is worth noting.

On 22 August 1592 occurs an entry, again to John Kyd, which is conclusive: 'Entred for his copie by warrant from 'master Watkins, a booke, of the true reporte of the poysoninge 'of Thomas Elliott Tailor of London. Provided that this booke 'must be perused by master Watkins before yt be printed.' Clearly Master Watkins had not seen the book.

Finally, on 15 November 1594, was entered 'a ballad of the 'triumphes at the tilte and thanksgyvinge the xvii of November '1594 for her maiesties xxxvii yeares Reigne', that is, two days before the event happened.

In all five entries the circumstances are similar; they show that entry in the *Register* was used to stake a claim in a piece of startling news, as well as to prevent an unlawful publication.

I have discussed the *Stationers' Register* at some length because it is essential to see how far its entries give an accurate summary of Elizabethan publication. Clearly no general principle can be applied to all the entries; each must be examined by itself. In theory every book had to be entered before printing; 'licensed it must be', said Chettle in the preface to *Kindharts Dream*, 'ere it could be printed', but license to print is not necessarily the same as license to set up. In practice it seems that publishers were careful to enter all books where Star Chamber matters were involved, unless the hope of gain overweighed the risk of punishment; when copy-right was valuable; and when it was convenient. For the rest they regarded the ordinances of their Company with manly independence.

One other point needs illustrating—an apparent example of the use of the Julian Calendar in dating a book. On 28 December 1594 was entered a little pamphlet 'The sentence of the 'Court of parliament [i.e., the French Parliament] against

‘ John Chastell scholler in the Colledge of the Iesuittes for the ‘ parricide by him attempted against the kinges person’. The attempt to assassinate Henry IV of Navarre was made on 17 December. This little pamphlet was published with the date 1595. Seeing how quickly the Elizabethan printer could work it is most unlikely that it was not published before 25 March 1595, or that it would still be worth printing more than three months after the event.

The books published during these four years may be divided typographically into two main groups—those printed in roman type, and those printed in black letter. Given a generous allowance of exceptions, the difference in type does correspond, very generally, with the nature of the book. Roman type was reserved for books intended for a scholarly and cultured reader, black letter was the popular type. All ballads are in black letter, news pamphlets, novels and proclamations. Poetry, on the other hand, intended for gentlemen readers, was usually ornamentally printed in roman and italic, as were scholarly or technical works. Indeed, the typography of a book often shows at a glance the kind of reader who was expected to buy it, and with plays especially it is possible to watch how the class of reader changes. The popular favourites such as, *The Troublesome Raigne of King Iohn*, *A Looking Glass for London*, *Tamburlane*, *Dr. Faustus*, *Arden of Faversham*, *Jack Strawe*, *A Knacke to Know a Knave*, *Captain Thomas Stukeley*—these were all badly printed in black letter; they were intended for the ballad reader. But the cultured reading public was beginning to take an interest in play-reading, as is shown by the publication of Lyly’s Court comedies, and the significant request, for instance, that Wilmot should disinter *Tancred and Gismund* for its benefit. Lyly’s plays, and the others written for private performance, were printed in roman type.

From 1594 onwards the general standard of printing plays improved considerably, so that by the end of the century the plays, at least of the better-class writers, were printed as carefully as their poems. It is only fair to add that *The Spanish Tragedy* was printed in roman.

In this connexion may be mentioned one interesting bibliographical problem, the story of Job Hortop's adventures. This Hortop had been pressed for Sir John Hawkins's third voyage to the West Indies in 1567, and, after the disaster to the fleet, was one of the party put ashore on the coast of Mexico. Having survived many adventures he was taken to Spain, and there served more than ten years in the galleys. In the end he managed to escape to England, and landed at Portsmouth on 2 December 1590.

On 9 February 1591 there was entered to William Wright 'Job Hortopps trauayles to Gynnye'. Now there are two books of Job Hortop, both bearing Wright's name in the imprint, and dated 1591; one is printed in roman type, the other in black letter. In both the title-page is printed on signature A 1 and the beginning of the text on A 3; both are dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, tell the same story at about the same length, and yet are different books, the one being a paraphrase of the other. On the whole the roman type copy is more literary and has fewer abnormal spellings than the black letter. In the black-letter edition Hortop gives his name in full, in the roman he uses the initials I. H.

The title-page of the roman type edition runs:

The Trauailles of an Englishman. Containing his sundrie calamities indured by the space of twentie and odd yeres in his absence from his native countrie; wherein is truly deciphered the sundrie shapes of wilde Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Foules, rootes, plants, &c. With the description of a man that appeared in the Sea: and also of a huge giant brought from China to the King of Spaine. No lesse pleasant than approued. By I. H. Published with authoritie. Imprinted at London for William Wright, and are to be solde at his shop neere vnto Pauls School, 1591.

The black-letter edition has an even longer title :

The Rare Trauailles of Iob Hortop, an Englishman, who was not heard of in three and twentie yeeres space. Wherin is declared the dangers he escaped in his voiage to Gynnie, where after hee was set on shoare in a wilderness neere to Panico, hee endured much slauerie and bondage in the Spanish Galley. Wherein also he discouereth many strange and wonderfull things seene in the time of his trauaile, as well concerning wilde and sauage people, also of sundrie monstrous beasts, fishes and foules, and also Trees of wonderfull forme and qualitie. LONDON Printed for William Wright. 1591.

The curt imprint, 'printed for William Wright', is suspicious, for the pirated quartos of Shakespeare's plays issued by William Jaggard are similarly brief. But there is no external reason for suspecting a piracy unless the book was exceedingly popular. Moreover, the black-letter version shows more signs of being set up direct from Hortop's own manuscript; the narrative is a less polished, more vivid, and worse spelt.

It is not easy to show the differences without lengthy extracts, but two short passages may be quoted. The first is from the black-letter :

At this place called Reogrande vpon the lande there are many muske cats which breede in hollowe trees, which the Negroes do finde out, first they finde out their haunt and catch them with a net, they nourish them daintily, putting them in cages, and take the muske verie charily from them with a spoone or such like. (Sig. A 4^v.)

The roman-type version reads :

In that place there be many muske cats, which breed in hollow trees, the Negroes take them in a net and put them in a cage, and nourish them verie daintily, & take the muske from them with a spoon. (p. 9.)

Hortop's narrative was reprinted by Hakluyt in the third volume of *Principal Navigations*. He used the roman-type copy, but pruned it of a few lines of doggerel.

Of the total of some 546 new books entered in the *Stationers' Register* during the period 1591-4, 129 items are concerned with current news, of which 79 are prose and 46 verse, mostly

ballads. These figures again are approximate : it is not always possible to tell whether an entry refers to a prose or a verse work, or whether it is news or fiction. Greene's *Black bookes messenger*, for instance, is entered as 'The Repentance of a 'Cony catcher with the life and death of Mourton and Ned 'Browne, two notable cony catchers. The one latelie executed 'at Tyborne the other at Aix in ffraunce.' At first sight it appears to be a news pamphlet; actually the book, as published, contained only the life and death of Ned Browne, and that a manifest fiction.

There were as yet no newspapers, but two of Wolfe's publications come very near to it. The first (now lost) was entered on 2 March 1591 as 'newes out of Ffraunce Savoy Dauphine Alepo Soria and Tripole'. The title of the second is

A True Relation of the French King his good successe, in winning from the Duke of Parma, his Fortes and Trenches, and slaieng 500 of his men, with the great Famine that is now in the said Dukes Campe. With other intelligences giuen by other letters since the second of May. 1592.

A Most wonderfull and rare example, the like whereof, never happened since the beginning of the world, of a certain mountaine in the Ile of Palme, which burned continually, for five or six weeks together, with other both fearfull and strange sights, seene in the ayre, over the same place.

The pamphlet contains several letters from different parts of Europe, but the news is all in the headlines; and there is nothing about the burning mountain inside, at least in the British Museum copy.

The issue of news pamphlets was very erratic, and the list is more remarkable for what it omits than what it includes. Nothing was entered which bears on the Lopez conspiracy, and Hacket's execution was unsung in any ballad; as, however, he died blaspheming, a doleful repentance would have been out of place.

At this time the most important event abroad was the war with Spain, which was now being conducted principally on

land by the English troops, who were fighting with Henry IV of Navarre to defend the Protestant faith and the Channel ports against the Leaguers and the Spaniards. Twenty-six publications (including two ballads) were entered between 23 January and 21 November 1591, after which there was a break for three months, until 28 February, when their issue began again, and twelve were entered in four and a half months. Then there is a considerable gap, for from 19 July 1592 to 14 April 1594 only three entries are recorded. The reason for this is that the war was fluctuating and uncertain. Henry's state remained very doubtful until in July 1593 he suddenly joined the Catholic Church, and the whole purpose of the war changed. For a short time the Queen and her Council feared that Henry might ally himself with the Spaniards and turn against her; but as it happened the Leaguers were thoroughly tired of their friends; and so with a little shuffling of forces the war was resumed. The output of pamphlets rose in 1594 to ten in prose, with two ballads.¹

Of these 49 French war pamphlets John Wolfe printed no less than 36. Most of them are founded on official or semi-official sources, such as proclamations or orders issued by the French King, the printed terms of truce with the Leaguers, information supplied by the French ambassador in England, and so forth. Those which describe the actions of the English troops are most interesting. Reverses and disasters, needless to say, were not recorded, nor was there much glorification of

¹ The figures for 1591-4 are as follows:

	1591.		1592.		1593.		1594.	
	Prose.	Verse.	P.	V.	P.	V.	P.	V.
Foreign News.								
(a) The War in France.	24	2	12	-	3	-	10	2
(b) General.	4	-	1	-	2	1	4	3
Naval.	4	2	-	1	-	-	1	-
Home News.	4	4	6	6	2	9	2	17

the army under the Earl of Essex, who displayed considerable flamboyant bravery, but indeed accomplished very little.

Other foreign news takes up some fifteen entries, if indeed one may include under the heading of news certain strange birds seen in Flanders, or a monstrous child born in the Dukedom of Brabant, or such items as 'a booke of newes of Twoo angels that came before the Cytie of Droppa in Slesia' with 'a ballad of the same Twoo angelles'.

Naval events occupy two ballads and four prose works in 1591, one of them being Sir Walter Raleigh's account of the loss of the *Revenge*, *The truthe of the fight about the Isles of the Azores*, one of the finest pieces of prose writing in English.

There are 50 entries of home news, of which 36 are ballads, mostly of murders, executions, and marvels, with half a dozen lamentations and epitaphs, one of the most interesting being a professional ululation by Robert Greene on the death of Sir Christopher Hatton, the Lord Chancellor, on 20 November 1591. It is a kind of parody in anticipation of some of the most notable English elegies, *Lycidas*, *Adonais*, and *The Vision of Judgement*—Southey's. Of the fourteen prose pamphlets, six are accounts of criminal trials and executions, and one is a description of Queen Elizabeth's progress to Elvetham.

These figures are taken from the *Register*; a number of books in each class survive which were never entered. It is worth noting that there is no attempt to record home news of any real importance, nor do affairs in Scotland occupy much space. Two semi-official Scotch pamphlets were entered, the first dealing with the conspiracy of the papists in 1593, the second describing the baptism of Prince Henry in August 1594, which also gave birth to a ballad. No Irish pamphlet was entered.

Directly arising out of the war in France are certain manuals of military theory and practice. The most important, for the student of warfare, is William Garrard's *Art of war* (1591),

which had been left unfinished at his death in 1587, and was collected and finished by Captain Hitchcock. The book is a complete manual of military practice in all its branches, from the duties of the private soldier to the technicalities of field engineering.

Hand firearms were now coming into their own, but some of the old school were still in favour of the long bow, and the discussion of the relative merits of the different weapons was heated, as controversies between senior officers are apt to be; it was carried on in print by Sir John Smythe, Sir Roger Williams, and Captain Humphrey Barwick. Some commanders preferred the harquebus to the heavier musket, which could only be fired from a rest, was a weighty cumbersome piece, and consumed a pound of powder in every eight or ten discharges. Sir Roger Williams had defended it on the ground that its discharge at close range was far more deadly than twice the number of calivers. Sir John Smythe, on the other hand, in his *Certain discourses* (1590) enthusiastically upheld archers against any troops armed with firearms, and in his *Instructions, observations and orders myltitarie* (written in 1591 but not published until four years later) declared these new-fangled notions to be 'without reason or allowable experience to fortify and confirm them'; the musket was too heavy, the harquebus so inaccurate that at twelve score paces not ten in ten thousand shots would hit; your long bow in short was still the only weapon. For these opinions he was very heartily trounced by Captain Barwick who retorted in *A brieve discourse, concerning the force of all manuell weapons of fire* that his experience was greater, and garnered under mighty Princes warring in style and not in beggarly civil broils. He was prepared to stand up to any archer, armed only pistol proof, and let him shoot ten arrows, he would not stir.

In this group may be mentioned two clerical works, Simon Harward's *Solace for the soldier and sailor* (1592) and Dr.

Matthew Sutcliffe's *Practice and proceeding of the laws of arms* (1593). Harward had been a chaplain in the Earl of Cumberland's fleet, which captured the Great Carrack. On returning to England he was much grieved to find his actions criticized as contrary to the Gospel. Accordingly he defended the profession of arms, and especially the war against Spain, from the scriptures. Sutcliffe was best known as a soldier of the pen, a doughty champion of the Established Church against Presbyterianism. After the truce of July 1593, when there was a very general feeling that the English armies had little to show for the vast sums which had been spent on them, he thought the occasion ripe for a display of classical learning on the true discipline of the wars; nevertheless a readable book, in parts.

Most of the news pamphlets dealing with home news are lost: murder pamphlets were not thought worth binding and were soon thumbed to pieces. Of those that remain the two already mentioned present a considerable contrast. The murder of the Lord Burke by Captain Cosby evidently caused a deal of comment, both men being well known at Court; and the account of the trial, which survives, was carefully written up from the legal depositions. Very different is the story of Anne Bruen and John Parker. Here the author had to rely on hearsay and chatter; he relates the story at length and with a deal of vivid, gruesome detail, but he dismisses the trial and execution in a few lines. The explanation may be that he was in such a hurry to have his story ready for sale as the crowd came away from Smithfield that he had to anticipate the trial.

The only surviving copy of the Bruen pamphlet bears on its title-page the signature 'Ihō Kyde' and on the last page 'Tho Kydde' in a different hand, and was accordingly included by Dr. Boas in his edition of Kyd's works. If the attribution is correct it suggests that publisher and author may have been related, and that other pamphlets may have been the work of

well-known writers. The news pamphlets, especially those describing battles, are indeed well worth detailed study, not only as good specimens of workaday prose, but as, to some extent, the raw material of Shakespeare's historical plays.

Next in bulk to news comes theology of all kinds, for the Elizabethan reader had a voracious appetite for sermons and theological polemics. The most widely read of all the publications of this period were the sermons of the Reverend Henry Smith, rector of St. Clement's Dane. His first publication was entered on 3 October 1589, he died in 1591; yet he is credited with 127 entries in the *Short Title Catalogue* as against Greene's 97, Nashe's 21, and Shakespeare's 93. But sermons, however good, pass out of date more quickly than most forms of literature.

Of more permanent interest, because of the light they throw on the mentality of writer and readers, are some of the polemical treatises, such as Sutcliffe's *Treatise of ecclesiastical discipline* (1591), or Bunny's *Truth and falsehood* (1593), written when the Atheists were causing some alarm. Bunny tabulates in parallel columns the Catholic and Protestant doctrines, and exhorts the magistrates not to shirk their duty by showing lenity to recusants or to Atheists, though these were less dangerous to the state than the Catholics.

Books on witchcraft, alchemy, and astrology were sure of a public. Two notable cases of witchcraft were recorded in *Newes from Scotland* and *The three witches of warboys*. The first is an account of the trial of Agnes Sampson, Doctor Fian, and other notorious witches who were tried before James VI of Scotland. The book was not entered.

The case of the witches of Warboys is a much more elaborate pamphlet, recording in great detail the whole course of the supposed bewitching of the daughters of Mr. Throckmorton. This pamphlet seems to have caused some excitement at Stationers' Hall, as the entry in the Register notes that it was

‘Recommended for matter of truthe by master Judge Ffenner vnder his handwrytinge shewed in a Court or assemblie holden this Daye according to the ordonnances of the ‘company’; ‘the note vnder master Iustice Ffenners hand is Layd vp in the wardens cupbord’. In general the Puritans believed staunchly in witchcraft and the visible workings of the devil. The question, from the puritan standpoint, is discussed in Giffard’s *Dialogue concerning witches and witchcraft*, in which he takes the line that Satan works through witches because God seeks by this means to punish the world; but that those who consult wise women or indulge in superstitious rites are themselves guilty of witchcraft. The book was intended for popular reading, and the dialogue, especially when the women talk, is very lively. But with the rest of his Puritan brethren Giffard lets his logic be distorted by his intense respect for the devil.

But while the belief in witchcraft was increasing in certain quarters, alchemy and astrology were losing reputation; nor was Rabbard’s edition of Ripley’s *Compound of alchemy* likely to re-establish it. In 1593 Thomas Kelway published a translation of Auger Ferrier’s *Learned astronomical discourse* of 1549, with an address to the reader, whom he tried to frighten into acquiescence by saying that those who read the work with derision were but advertising their own insufficiency. Sceptics found their champion in Nashe, who wrote his *Terrors of the night* in 1593, a piece of solemn and most successful buffoonery.

Allied to the superstitious arts are certain books of medicine, such as Hester’s *Pearl of practise*, but this is better than his edition of Du Chesne’s *Spagieric preparation of Minerals, animals and vegetables*, giving detailed instructions for the preparation of tincture of mummy and other substances, even more nauseous.

Yet not all medical works were of this kind; Simon Kellwaye’s *Defensative against the plague* (1593) is full of common

sense, and had his advice been followed the mortality would have been much lessened. *Present remedies against the plague* (1594), though sound enough on sanitation, is rather too trusting when it comes to diet; modern readers would scarcely be inclined to put their trust in a toast of bread, sprinkled with red rose vinegar, buttered, and powdered with cinnamon, to be eaten fasting first thing in the morning.

The desire for travel produced three important language books in 1591; Stepney's *Spanish schoolmaster*, Eliot's *Fruits for the French*, and Florio's *Second fruits*, with its collection of Italian proverbs. These books avoid the sterility of 'the pen of the gardener's daughter', and give some most interesting examples of conversational phrases which the traveller might need in a great variety of intimate occasions. Stepney, for instance, provided for a brief wooing of the chambermaid; she was not expected to need much persuasion.

Those who wished to study the mathematics could turn to the revised editions of Digges's *Pantometria* (1591) and *Tectonicon* (1592), the former a learned and beautifully printed folio, discussing the theories of Geometry and their practical application for measuring heights and distances. Nautical mathematics were explained in *M. Blundeville his exercises* and Captain John Davis's *The seamans secrets*.

The art of propaganda was well understood. Fortunately Martin Marprelate had ceased his activities before 1591, but the Jesuits smuggled in two pamphlets which were very successful in annoying the government. The first was an answer to the proclamation against the Jesuits published in the late autumn of 1591, and was entitled *Responsio ad edictum reginae Angliæ*, written in Latin by Father Parsons under the pseudonym of Andreas Philopater—a very scurrilous *Who's Who* of the chief men about the Queen. In order that it might be better known in England, a digest in English, purporting to be written by an intelligencer to a Secretary of Lord Burleigh,

was made for private circulation. *A conference about the next succession*, printed in 1594, was another of Father Parsons's achievements, intended to show that succession to the Crown of England need not be hereditary, and that deposition could sometimes be justified.

On the government side several official publications were issued. The account of the trial of Captain Cosby for the murder of the Lord Burke, the *Iournall or brief report of the late service in Britaigne*, and Dr. Cosin's *Conspiracy for pretended reformation*, have already been mentioned. The last was compiled to meet certain definite charges against the Council. Amongst other official publications was *A true report of sundry horrible conspiracies to have taken away the life of the Queen's Majesty*, published late in 1594, and giving an account of the Lopez and other conspiracies. This book was translated into French, being intended to discredit the King of Spain and his ministers for encouraging assassins.

Archbishop Whitgift was a great believer in the power of the press. To his inspiration was due Cosin's *Apologie: of, and for sundrie proceedings by iurisdiction ecclesiasticall*. This book was really directed against Lord Burleigh, who disagreed sharply with the Archbishop's persecution of the Puritans, and even questioned the legality of some of the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Cosin set himself to establish scriptural reasons in support of the Courts. Two years later Dr. Richard Bancroft wrote the history of the extreme Puritans, from Geneva days to the Hacket Conspiracy, in *Dangerous positions and proceedings*. The one truly great work which emerged from the religious strife of these four years, Richard Hooker's *Of the lawes of ecclesiastical polity*, was also undertaken at the wish of the Archbishop.

Professional writers produced a few religious or semi-religious works. Drayton wrote a *Harmony of the church*, his first metrical work, which proves that poets are not always born

full fledged. Breton anticipated *The pilgrim's progress* in his *Pilgrimage to paradise*, and in the same style Leonard Wright had written a prose *Pilgrimage to paradise*, which has a delightful woodcut of the pilgrim being tempted by the world, the flesh, and the devil, but nothing else to recommend it. Nashe, afflicted in his conscience by the plague of 1593, wrote *Christ's Tears*, denouncing London for her many and great sins, but describing them with luscious detail. When the book first came out Nashe was so penitent that he even offered a handsome apology to Gabriel Harvey, but withdrew it in a vitriolic preface to the second edition when he found that Harvey suspected that the tears of Christ were less suitable for Nashe's pen than the tears of the crocodile.

Turning to literature, Robert Greene was by far the most important of the professional writers, not only in output and ability, but because of his keen instinct for what the public wanted. His books, in fact, are a barometer of popular taste in literature. He had made his name as a novelist, a writer of romances in the style of Lyly and Sidney, which are elaborate prose mixed with verse. Late in 1591 he turned from euphuistic novels to the Conny-catching pamphlets, wherein he exposed, one after another, the tricks of the professional sharpers in the city. When Greene was in the mood he always made a fine show of moral purpose, and there may have been a genuine reforming zeal behind the first of the series; if so he must have been doubly gratified that the books sold so well, for he knew when and how to follow up a success. In April 1592 a certain master of arts, who took the name of 'Cuthbert Cunnicatcher', answered Greene with a *Defence of conny-catching*, taking the line that Greene in exposing the small fry was deliberately leaving the greater rogues alone. There was a limit to the number of genuine examples of conny-catching, which Greene reached after *The notable disputation*. The fifth and last of the series was *The blacke bookes messenger*; this is

little better than a collection of merry tales, set off with a moral preface and an edifying conclusion, borrowing by the way useful hints from his adversary's pamphlet.

There were two important results of Greene's conny-catching pamphlets; they turned the attention of the regular reading public to new interests, and they attracted a new kind of reader to the bookshops. Arcadian romance was wearing a little thin, as intelligent readers became self-conscious, feeling the want of something which had more in common with their own world. It is doubtful whether Greene realized that he was a 'literary influence'; he was more immediately concerned with enlarging his public. The change can be seen in his dedicatory epistles. In 1590 he had written *Greenes Mourning garment*, and *Greenes Neuer too late*, which he addressed to the Gentlemen Scholars of both Universities; they, with the gentlemen of the Inns of Court and the ladies and gentlemen of the Court, were his usual public. The Conny-catching pamphlets were addressed to young gentlemen, merchants, apprentices, farmers and plain countrymen.

The experiment was a success and the number of Greene's followers much increased. Hitherto his work had been welcomed, but few of his books except *Arbastro* seem to have gone into a second edition; henceforward they were reprinted again and again. *Pandosto*, for example, first published in 1585 was reissued in 1592, 1595, 1597, 1607, 1614, 1629, and 1633.

The artist in Greene now began to get the better of the moralist, and in the *Quip for an upstart courtier* he turned from reporting true tales to social satire, heavily spiced with personal abuse. It is likely that Greene and Nashe influenced each other at this time, if indeed Greene did not borrow some of his technique from Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse*, which was entered a few days after the *Quip*. The *Quip for an upstart courtier* was the first of a new series of satires which used a semi-allegorical form as cover for direct attacks on social abuses or definite

persons. It was entered on 21 July 1592, and by the end of the year three editions had been issued. Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse*, written in a similar vein, was even more successful; it went into three editions in 1592, another in 1593, a fifth in 1595. This popularity was due to the interest always aroused by personal abuse of well-known individuals. In answer to their protests, Nashe took cover behind the conventional defence of the satirist, demurely protesting that he was writing generally, and if the victims felt injured it was not his fault, and of course his remarks about antiquaries were not to be taken personally; still it can scarcely have been a coincidence that John Stow had just brought out his laboured *Annales of England, from the first inhabitation vntill 1592*.

The *Quip for an upstart courtier* was the beginning of the great quarrel between Gabriel Harvey and the Nashe-Greene clique. It is surprising how wide an interest this personal controversy aroused. Nashe had attacked the Harveys by the way in *Pierce Penilesse*; Harvey answered both Nashe and Greene in *Four Letters*; Nashe retorted with *Strange newes of the intercepting certain letters*. Though concerned solely with Harvey and the quarrel, the book went into five editions in 1593; mud, as always, was a best seller.

Greene died in September 1592 leaving his *Groatsworth of Wit* and his *Repentance*, both pieces of unrestrained autobiography, to be published posthumously. The *Groatsworth* started another controversy which was echoed in the famous preface to Chettle's *Kindharts dreame*.

Of the other prose writers Lodge is important, though not always in close touch with the reading public, as he wrote some at least of his novels at sea with Cavendish's expedition in 1591-2. He lacked Greene's skill in an Arcadian romance, but he could tell a straightforward tale well, especially when it was full of gory or horrible incident, as in *Robert Duke of Normandy*.

Some isolated prose books are worth mention. Gibbon's *Work worth the reading* (1591) contains five dialogues discussing various social and doctrinal problems, the most important being the first, whether the will of the parents is to be preferred before the affection of the children in arranging a marriage. The question was much debated at this time, especially after the sensational murder of Mr. Page of Plymouth by his girl wife in 1589, recorded in ballads, a pamphlet, and afterwards in a play by Jonson and Dekker. Deloney, writing a suitable dying speech for the murderer, lays the ultimate responsibility on her parents. Gibbon also wrote *The praise of a good name* (1594), a collection of epigrams and little essays which in style are not unlike Bacon's essays. O. B.'s *Display of folly* (1594), is another discussion of the vices of the times.

An interesting experiment in elaborate prose was Father Southwell's *Mary Magdalens funeral tears*, in which he used the euphuistic soliloquy for a religious purpose.

Of the books of poetry published during these years the majority are collections of sonnets. The vogue began with the issue of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* in 1591. Sidney's sonnets had been known to an inner circle for some years and their publication was a literary event of great importance; three editions came out in that year. Immediately a new enthusiasm for sonneteering began. Nicholas Breton's *Bowre of delights*, entered on 3 May 1591, includes several sonnets. Samuel Daniel's *Delia* followed early in 1592. Constable's *Diana* was entered on 22 September, the original edition being an interesting example of the pretty pocket volume got up for ladies; but as poetry, smooth, passionless, and drowsy.

In 1593 Barnabe Barnes's *Parthenophil and Parthenophe* was entered on 10 May. Barnes's luxurious Muse disgusted some of his contemporaries, who pretended to be much shocked by the curious sentiments that he expressed towards his mistress; but he has at least the merit of not being content with the

tired conventions of the sonnet. He is not a Donne, but he has the same interest in his sensations.¹

Daniel augmented his *Delia* in a new edition entered on 19 October, to which was added *Cleopatra*, a frigid closet drama on the classical pattern, dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke, and a *Complaint of Rosamond*.

In the same year Lodge produced *Phyllis*, in which he returned to the pastoral mode, adding *The Complaint of Elstred*, which finds its echo forty years afterwards in Milton's *Comus*.

In 1594 appeared *Greenes funerals*, which is bad enough to be worth reading, especially when R.B. attempts a sonnet in English hexameter. The first edition of Drayton's *Idea* was entered on 30 May, but the best known of his sonnets are added in later editions. Giles Fletcher's *Licia, or poemes of love in honour of the singular virtues of his mistress* with a lament called *The rising to the crown of Richard the Third*, also belongs to this period. Fletcher's sonnets are not above the average, but the Epistle Dedicatory contains an interesting expression of the mood of melancholy which was beginning to creep over intelligent Englishmen at the end of the century. The collection closes with the unentered *Zepheria*, whose anonymous author has many of those turns of phrase and metaphor which the late Sir Sidney Lee called 'labouring conceits drawn from the technicalities of the law'. As a matter of fact some of the sonnets are quite clever and would pass for Shakespeare's had they been quietly inserted in the collection of 1609.

Spenser's *Amoretti*, though entered on 19 November 1594, were not published before 1595.

Lee held that the love-sonnet as a form was imitative and insincere, a poetic exercise; my own feeling is the opposite, that the love-sonnets mark a transition between conventional

¹ Some of Donne's early love poetry was being written about this time.

poetry and the intense personal lyrics of such a writer as Donne, and that even when imitated or even translated they were the individual expression of feeling of the writer toward some one reader.

The laments and complaints are worth noticing. Antony Chute set the fashion with *Beauty dishonoured* (entered 16 June 1593), telling the story of Shore's wife; he was imitated, with acknowledgments, by Daniel in *Rosamond's Complaint*. Both were copied by Fletcher in *The rising to the crown of Richard the Third*. In each poem the sinner laments a wicked life and deservedly lamentable death. Indeed they are really ballads, with the same sententious whine of the condemned criminal bemoaning the wickedness of his 'fact'. Shakespeare's *Sonnets* also include a lament,¹ but of another kind.

Connected with the more sensuous of the sonnets is a small group of erotic works of which *Venus and Adonis*, and *Hero and Leander* (1593) and *The rape of Lucrece* (1594) are the greatest.

The vein of boy-love is noticeable, though it varies considerably. Both in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* and Edwards's *Cephalus and Procris* the natural order is reversed, 'Apollo flies and Daphne holds the chase'; it is the beauty of the youth and not of the woman which causes the trouble. There can be little doubt of Edwards's intention, because he appended a poem of *Narcissus*, who fell in love with the reflection of his own feminine beauty and was drowned in seeking it. In Dickenson's *Arisbas*, a euphuistic prose tale with song and verses, charmingly told, the boy Hyalus is the patron saint of Arcadia, and when another beautiful boy appears, he is loved of all the shepherds and liked by all the lasses; as it happened the boy was a girl and all ends happily. But there is no concealing the perversion of the natural order in Barnfield's

¹ This is an additional argument for placing the bulk of Shakespeare's in the years 1593-4.

Passionate shepherd, where the shepherd Daphnis pleads with the boy Ganymede to desert Queen Gwendolen to be his love, though he is not too besotted to add some stanzas of elementary advice for Ganymede's upbringing which are reminiscent of Lydgate's *Babees book*. There is neither charm, delicacy, nor disguise in Neptune's pursuit of Leander as told in Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*.

One curious work which stands by itself is *Willobie his Avis*, entered 6 September 1594. Ostensibly it tells in verse the story of how an innkeeper's wife triumphantly subdued her wooers and upheld her reputation; but it is pretty clear that contemporaries read another meaning into the fiction.

The Countess of Pembroke has been mentioned as Daniel's patron. She also allowed Abraham Fraunce to write the *Countess of Pembroke's Iwychurch* in 1591, and even encouraged him to protract his tumid hexameters into a third part. Sidney's sister was a remarkable and justly famous lady, but she must be held directly responsible for some of the lamentable classicisms of her tame poets.

For a very different audience Deloney compiled the *Garland of good will*, in which he filched, to debase to the level of his usual public, some of those stories which more reputable poets had recently sung—Rosamond, Shore's Wife, and Elstred. The best piece in the collection is a dialogue between Truth and Ignorance, Truth standing for the new religion, Old Ignorance for the good old Catholic days. Old Ignorance is convinced in the last stanza, but the modern reader may find more sympathy with his simple regrets for the bare, ruined choirs than with Truth's greater scriptural knowledge. For the same kind of reader Richard Johnson wrote the *Nine worthies of London*, encouraging the ambitious prentice to emulate their glorious careers.

The plays published during these years have already received their due, and more, elsewhere. The theatre still catered for

a popular audience which meant that dramatists did not reflect the moods and sentiments of intellectual readers ; the hearty patriotism of the history plays was not the mood of the sonneteers ; but then literature moves like a caterpillar, with its head always some way in front of the tail ; the romances which had delighted Fletcher's father were despised by the son, but still adored by Beaumont's grocer twenty years later.

Reviewed in a manual of English Literature the books written between 1591 and 1594 reveal simple and orderly literary movements ; examined in the light of the *Stationers' Register* they show a tangled and glorious variety, and are the more interesting for that. Few even of the dullest will fail to produce something worth preserving.

THE WHITCHURCH COMPARTMENT IN LONDON AND MEXICO

By LUCY EUGENIA OSBORNE



THE fact that a decorative woodcut compartment used by Edward Whitchurch in England in the sixteenth century was closely copied, appearing in the same century and later, in books printed in Mexico, has previously been the subject of but brief allusions.¹ Nor have the several title-pages known to have borne this compartment or its copy been, up to this time, closely investigated and compared, with a view to establishing some connexion between the original user in England and the imitator in the New World.

The matter first came to my attention when, in cataloguing the Chapin copy of Aristotle's *Dialectica* . . ., Mexico, 1554, I noted that the compartment on the title-page was similar to that used in *The booke of the common prayer*, London, 1549. This led to a comparison, which led in turn to the assembling of so many facts that it seemed worth while to state them in a logical order, even though in so doing I have not arrived at a definite and plausible explanation.

The first time that I find the compartment used is by Whitchurch on the title-pages of both volumes of the *Paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the newe testamente*,² London, 1548-9. I shall describe the compartment in detail as it appeared in the *Paraphrase*, treating all later uses as variants of this form. Its

¹ Richard Garnett, *London Times*, 10 June 1881; J. T. Medina, *La Imprenta en Mexico*, i, No. 23 n.; R. B. McKerrow, 'Border-pieces used by English Printers before 1641,' *The Library*, June 1924, Ser. iv, vol. v, p. 15.

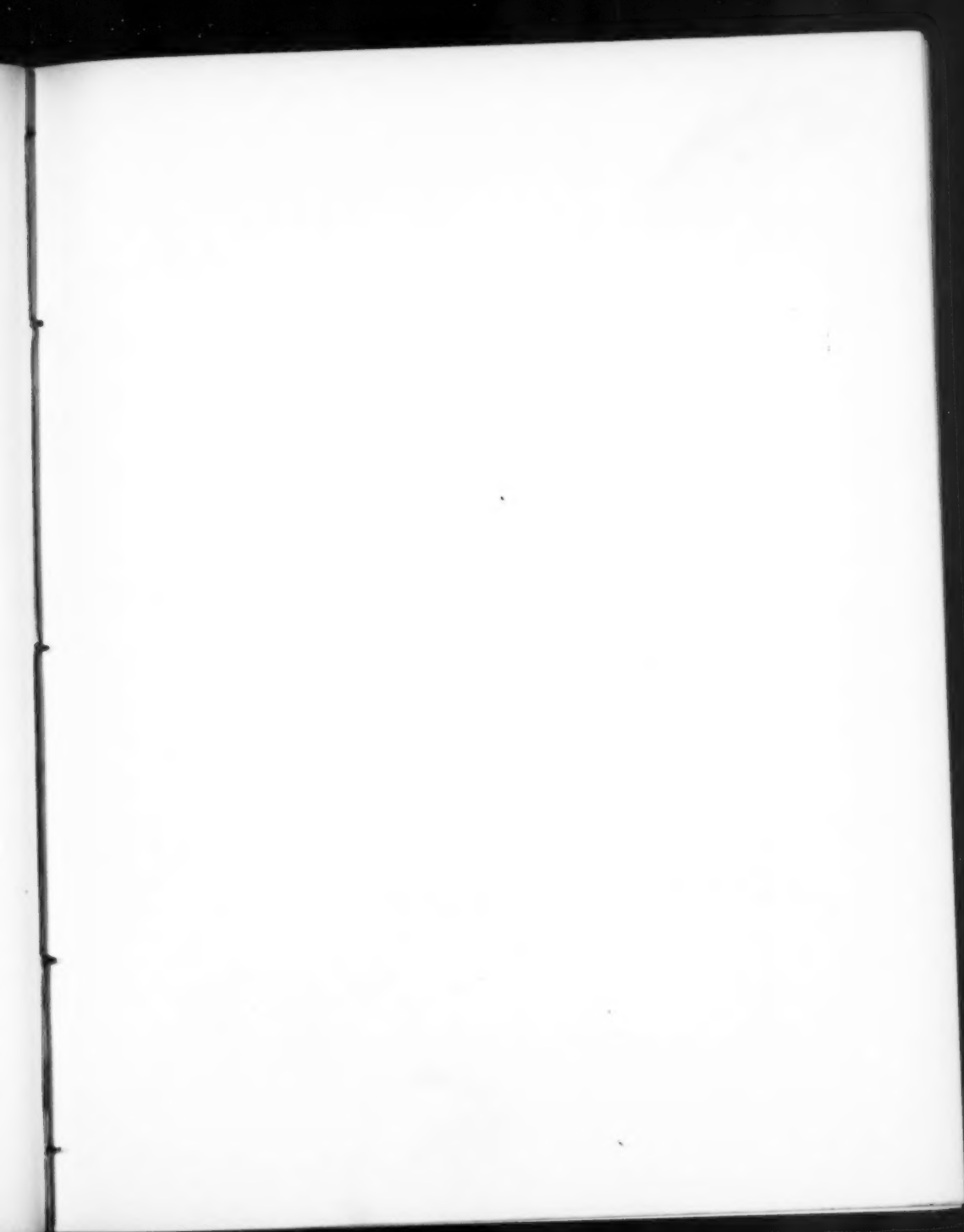
² McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices*, No. 109 a, with reproduction.

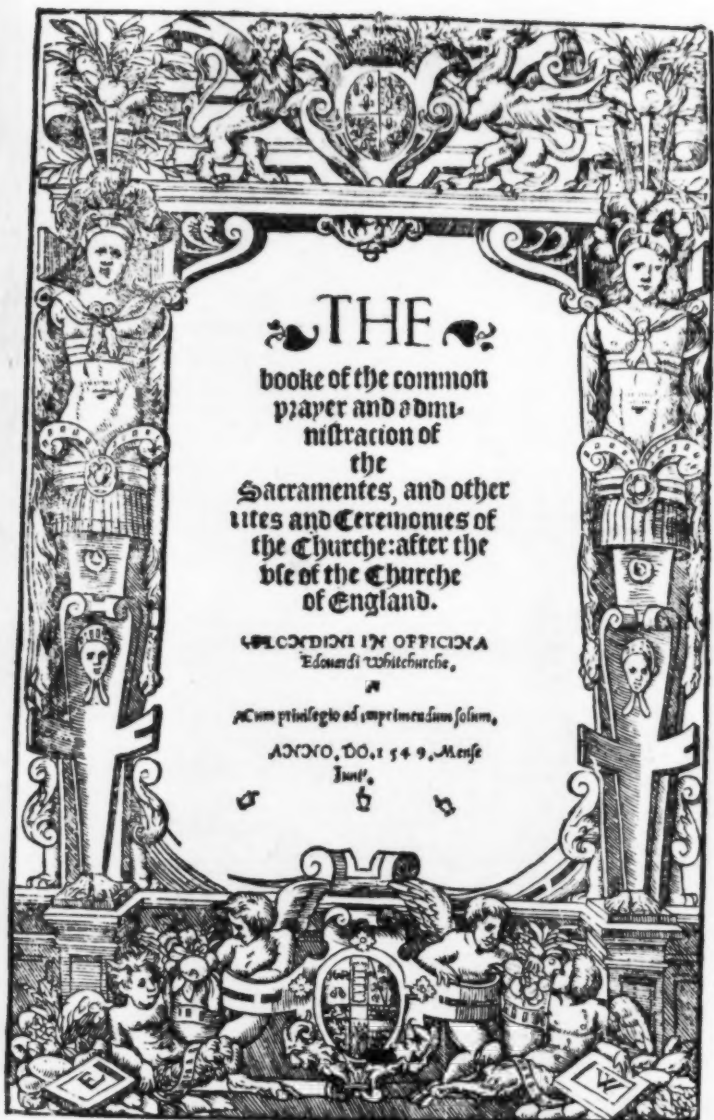
design is an elaborate one, with a terminus on each side and the Royal arms above; below are the arms of Catherine Parr, and in the lower corners tablets lettered E and W respectively, the initials of Edward Whitchurch. He used it again in *The booke of the common prayer* . . . , London, 1549, also in the revised book of 1552, commonly called the First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI.¹ In 1554 Richard Tottell used it in the same state in Lydgate's *Treatise . . . the falles of . . . Princes* The *Treatise* is itself undated, but the *Daunce of Machabree* annexed has in its colophon the date 'x. day of september—1554', and this may apply to the preceding matter as well as to the *Daunce*. In a variant form, the arms of Catherine Parr and the E and W being voided, the block is used in one of John Cawood's printings of the Statutes *Anno Mariae primo. Actes made the seconde day of Apryll*, dated in the colophon 'MDliij Mense Maio' (S.T.C. 9444), but Mr. Pollard assures me that this is really a reprint which must be later than 1562, along with S.T.C. 9450 and 9455, both dated 1555 and using the block in the same state. In these and in Juggle's edition of *The fourme . . . of makynge . . . Bischoppes* . . . , dated 1559, he finds wormholes which do not appear in Bullein's *Bulwarke of defence* (J. Kingston, 1562).

Turning now to the *Aristotle*, Mexico 1554,² we find that its printer, Juan Pablos, used on its title-page a very close copy of the Whitchurch compartment. To harmonize the design with the geographical change of base, certain alterations were embodied. The arms above became those of Spain, and in compliment to Veracruz the shield at the bottom contained a heart pierced by arrows, the device of the Order of St. Augustine; but curiously enough, the initials EW were retained.

¹ McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices*, No. 109 B.

² *Dialectica resolutio cum textu Aristotelis edita per . . . Patrem Alphonsum A Vera Cruce Augustinianum* . . . (Medina, *La Imprenta en México*, i, No. 23; Garcia Icazbalceta, *Bibl. Mex.*, No. 21, with reproduction).





1. Title-page of *Edward VI Prayer-book*, London, 1549, from a copy in the Chapin Library. (Reduced from 231 × 145 mm.)



2. Title-page of *Aristotle*, Mexico, 1554, from a copy in the Chapin Library.
 (Reduced.)

In 1559 Pablos again used this compartment to ornament the title-page of a volume by Gilberti.¹ The design is as found in the *Aristotle*, save that the device of the Order of St. Augustine has given place to the stigmata of St. Francis.

Nearly seventy-five years elapsed before the printing of the tract² next to be considered. Its title-page, reading as below, bears the compartment, and it is thought, as is the next of which I shall speak, to have been executed in Mexico by Juan Ruiz. The design is as in the *Aristotle*, but the lower shield is voided, bearing only the date 1632 which has been written there. The second Mexican tract³ has the design as in the preceding, save that the lower shield contains the figures 634 in movable type. Still a third tract,⁴ the title headed by a Jesuit device, bears the compartment.

To recapitulate, we have seen a woodcut compartment in use in London by the same printer, 1548-52; by Tottell in 1554, and by three others there, with certain variations, in and after 1562. In 1554 a close copy appeared in Mexico, to continue in use there for more than eighty years at least.

An added fact which heightens our interest is that Pablos, in the *Speculum Coniugiorum*⁵ of Alphonse Veracruz, Mexico 1556, used a 'W' like one to be found in the 1549 Edward VI Prayer Book, and, with but slight differences, in that of 1552;

¹ *Dialogo de Doctrina Christiana . . . por . . . Fray M. Gylberti de la orden del seraphico Padre sant Fracisco . . .* (Medina, i, No. 36; Garcia Icazbalceta. *Bibl. Mex.* No. 33, with reproduction).

² *Por Ivan De Zavala Fanarraga. En el pleyto de execucion, que contra el trata el Collegio de la Compania de Iesus del pueblo de san Luys Potosi, sobre ocho mil pesos.*

³ *Por Don Pedro de Baeza y Herrera. Con Dona Ivliana Curiel, viuda de don Fernando de la Marcha. Sobre la possession de la hacienda, y mina de alamores, que estan en la sierra de Mestitlan, 1634.*

⁴ *Por D. Garcia Ossorio de Valdes des cavallero del habito de Santiago heredero del Doctor D. Gutierre Bernardo de Qviros, obispo de Tlaxcala, 1638.*

⁵ Medina, i, No. 31.

that an 'A' in the *Speculum* is like one in the 1549 Prayer Book; and that an 'I' used in the *Speculum* is like one found in both Prayer Books with minute differences in the first.

Now to have clearly in mind such conditions in the printing world as have any bearing on this matter, I shall revert to the first appearance known to me, of the Whitchurch compartment, in the Erasmus *Paraphrase*, 1548-9. Whitchurch, whose name stands on the title-page as printer, had in 1545 succeeded John Byddell (formerly De Worde's assistant), at the sign of the Sun in Fleet Street, De Worde's old printing-office. The year previous, Whitchurch had been granted with Richard Grafton the exclusive patent to issue service books, and in 1549 and 1552 they published, as we have seen, the 1549 and 1552 Edward VI Prayer Books, both bearing the compartment. In 1553 both printers fell into political disfavour upon the accession of Mary, with the result that Grafton was succeeded as royal printer by John Cawood. As for Whitchurch, his work ceased, although, says Herbert,¹ 'He printed a book in 1560; after which time i find nothing of him'.²

Dr. McKerrow³ says that Whitchurch's stock probably passed to John Wayland, who had in 1553 succeeded him at the Sun; yet, since Whitchurch and Grafton had issued service books together, I should think it more likely that, notwithstanding Grafton's deposition as royal printer, he, upon the ceasing of Whitchurch's activity, retained in his own office at least such border-pieces, initial letters, &c., as had been used in some of their joint undertakings. I am the more disposed to hold this theory as Richard Tottell, 1554, was using the compartment in Lydgate's *Treatise*, and Tottell was Grafton's son-in-law. Cawood, who also used it in his later editions of the Statutes of Mary's reign, must have obtained it either from

¹ *Typographical Antiquities* begun by Joseph Ames, ed. Herbert, i, p. 539.

² This book was a new edition of Phaer's *Regiment of Life*.

³ *Printers' and Publishers' Devices*, p. 184.



3. Title-page of Mexican tract, 1638, from a copy in the John Carter Brown Library. (Reduced.)

Grafton after the disorganization of his shop or from Tottell after the latter had used it in *The Falles of Princes*.

Richard Jugge's printing of *The fourme . . . of makying . . . Bishoppes* . . . '1559', with the compartment, need present no difficulties, for according to Ames,¹ the work was done by Jugge and Cawood together. It is of passing interest to note that the first edition of *The fourme* was printed by Grafton, 1549, and did not contain the compartment. As for John Kingston's use of it in Bullein's *Bulwarke*, 1562, he printed mainly for other men between the years 1557 and 1584, so that it is quite possible that he was supplied with the compartment for this particular item, by one of the printers considered above.

Turning our attention now to the appearance of the copy of the compartment in Mexico, 1554, we should go back a little to review the circumstances attending the introduction of printing there. The German, Cromberger, was already established in Spain, with a large printing house in Seville. Obtaining the exclusive right to print in Mexico, he put in charge of the undertaking Juan Pablos (Giovanni Paoli of Brescia in Lombardy), and sent him thither with the necessary equipment. Here Pablos issued the product of the first American press in the New World.² The imprint read 'in casa Juan Cromberger', for Pablos did not print on his own authority until Cromberger's death. By 1554 he was doing so, however, as witness the imprint of the *Aristotle*.³ I shall now attempt to trace a connexion, step by step, between Pablos and the establishment, many years later, of Ruiz, considered to be the printer of the Mexican tracts previously mentioned.

I have said of Cromberger that he had obtained the exclusive right to print in Mexico, and Pablos, through him, enjoyed

¹ *Typographical Antiquities*, ed. Herbert, ii, p. 717.

² *Breve y mas compendiosa Doctrina Christiana* . . . 1539. (Medina, *La Imprenta en Mexico*, i, No. 1).

³ *Mexici Excudebat Ioannes paulus Brissensis, Anno 1554.*

that privilege, first as Cromberger's representative and later in his own name. As time went on, others became desirous of engaging in this work, but were withheld from doing so independently by reason of the patent held by Pablos; while they hesitated to join his staff because of the exorbitant premiums exacted by him from his apprentices. This condition could but cause greater and greater dissatisfaction, which ultimately led Antonio Espinosa, himself a printer from Spain, to revisit his own country to inaugurate proceedings against the continuance of the monopoly. These met with such success that before the death of Pablos in 1560, Espinosa had set up a press in Mexico and printed at least two books. Before his work was over (he retired 1575), he had apparently established friendly relations with Pedro Balli, first bookseller and then printer, and used some of the latter's designs. After Espinosa's retirement the important part of his stock was probably taken over by Pedro Ocharte, a printer who had soon after 1561 married Pablos' daughter and to whom had passed the Pablos stock¹ and house. Pedro Balli also often used designs formerly used by Pablos, and we find that he had had from the first very friendly relations with Ocharte, so that he no doubt had easy access to the Pablos stock. Upon Ocharte's death, 1592, his widow, though evidently under difficulties, attempted to carry on the establishment, and started the printing of one book,² but, forced to desist, turned it over to Balli, who issued it with his imprint, 1595. He also took over the greater part of Ocharte's equipment, the latter's widow reserving but little for the use of her sons. In 1601, the year following that in which Balli ceased to print, we find at work as a printer Diego López Dávalos, who had married Espinosa's daughter and acquired her father's stock. We know that he used designs once used by Ocharte (later Balli's); hence we do not have far

¹ Some of the Pablos type appears on the pages of Puga's *Cedulario* printed by Ocharte, 1563.

² Alvarez, *De Institutione Grammatica*.

to seek for the linking of the use of a Pablos-Ocharte-Balli compartment with the house of López Dávalos. We know, too, that the latter had as compositor in 1612, Juan Ruiz, who the next year set up his own press, printing in 1632 and 1634 the tracts in which we have noted the presence of the compartment.

I do not ignore the existence in Mexico at this period of other printers; I have merely sketched what seems to me the closest and most logical connexion between Pablos and Ruiz.

Having made the statement that the Mexican compartment was a copy of the Whitchurch; that, indeed, the Whitchurch blocks continued in use in England simultaneously with the use of the copy in Mexico, it remains to show how the design became known in Mexico or Spain. It is an interesting point, in view of the fact of its being an English design, imitated abroad. Dr. McKerrow notes it as the sole instance he has known, the trend having in all other cases been in the opposite direction.

The compartment's first appearance was in the *Paraphrase* of Erasmus, the first man, it has been said, to make his living by his literary activity, his books having an extraordinarily wide sale. It goes without saying that he was widely read on the continent. He was equally popular at the English court, where, at an early day, Princess Mary was reading his *Paraphrase* in Latin to such good purpose that she herself helped to translate it into English. Her guide in the study of Latin was, we know, a Spaniard, Ludovico Vives, and we may deduce the fact that Pablos and Vives were known to each other, since, in 1554, the year in which Pablos was using the copy of the compartment in the *Aristotle*, he was also printing a Spanish commentary on one of Vives' own books¹ by Cervantes de Salazar, who was then in Mexico, and had, by the way, written the prologue for the *Aristotle*. Mary's marriage to Philip earlier

¹ *Commentaria in Ludovici Vives Exercitationes Linguae Latinae.*

in that same year had made a direct link between England and Spain, and whether their relations were friendly or inimical, through some channel may have passed copies of any of the books in vogue at the English court, among them some volume bearing the compartment. That was a period when it was peculiarly true that England made new worlds her own, whether by bold and adventurous travelling, by an intellectual exchange as by translations, or by visits from statesmen, scholars, and all who could impart a wide store of knowledge to satisfy the keen curiosity then so prevalent. From Spain there came to England texts of Guevara, Amadis, Palmerin; what more credible than that literature current in England should find itself on board one of the many vessels bound for Spain? It is well known of many seafarers that, indefatigable readers, they reckoned a chest of books an indispensable accompaniment of a voyage.

From speculation as to the possibility of interchange, with the initiative coming from the English side, it might be fruitful to think of the continental probabilities. The great centre there had for years been the Frankfort Book Fair, bringing together representatives with interests as varied as the countries from which they came. Mingled with those of other crafts were to be met printers, book-dealers, publishers, correctors, type-setters, binders, woodcut makers. While by comparison with other countries Spain sent few representatives, such a thing was not impossible. Since it was a custom to employ as an advertising medium separate title-pages used poster-wise, each dealer also furnishing a specimen title-page of each of his books to be used in compiling the catalogue of the Fair, one may conjecture the falling of one of these bearing the Whitchurch compartment into the hands of an agent who would ultimately lay it before Pablos in Mexico.

Mr. Pollard has pointed out that woodcut borders are not of common occurrence in Spanish books. Heraldic title-pages,

bearing large arms of the country or of the book's hero or patron, were popular there in the sixteenth century. Sometimes this was varied by a woodcut picture ornamenting the title-page in conjunction with the title in large woodcut letters. How novel, then, and how desirable, would such a design as the Whitchurch compartment, affording opportunities for appropriate arms and devices, have seemed to the quick and acquisitive eye of a printer in the early days of his work in a new country! An article in *The Library*¹ points out a radical change in the typography of the Pablos press soon after 1550, a variety of roman and italic types then first coming into use. We see a combination of these on the title-page of the *Aristotle*, 1554. If, as Mr. McMurtrie thinks, Espinosa was cutting new types at that time, it seems reasonable that he should make use of the Whitchurch compartment and initial letters which I am assuming came in his way at the right moment, and should copy them for the *Aristotle* and later Mexican imprints.

Here then are certain facts, together with some flights of imagination which I hope do not obscure the matter by their fallacies. I may at least, in stating some of the facts, have cleared the way for some one, who, bringing forward still another use of the Whitchurch design, may show beyond mere conjecture what trend of events led to its faithful imitation in the New World.

¹ McMurtrie, 'The First Typefounding in Mexico,' *The Library*, June 1927, Ser. iv, vol. viii, p. 121.

THE LIBRARY REGULATIONS OF A MEDIEVAL COLLEGE

By H. W. GARROD



THE fullest, and most general, account of the system of library management which prevailed in medieval colleges is that contained in the third volume of Willis and Clark's *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (Part iii, sect. vii, chapter i). The notes that follow use the material there collected. But they are especially intended to supplement the paper *Early Documents Connected with the Library of Merton College* printed by Dr. P. S. Allen in *The Library*, vol. iv, no. 4, pp. 249 sqq. Since Dr. Allen's paper was written new material has become accessible by the publication of the Rev. H. E. Salter's *Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. lxxvi, 1923); and some additions can be made to this from unpublished Merton documents. The records of the Merton Library are older and fuller than those of most colleges, and there is reason to think that, in the early period, it was richer in books than similar foundations. It seems likely, again, that the system by which it made its books available for students was different from that of other colleges.

The existing Library of Merton College was begun to be built in 1375, and was finished in 1378.¹ The model of it, there is reason to believe, was the Library of the Preaching Friars in London.² But there was an older building, about which very little is known, except that it is already mentioned in a deed of the College of the year 1338.³ Willis and Clark, following Gutch and Antony Wood, speak of it as 'a room, at first with

¹ The slightly different dates given in the histories of the College are wrong.

² (Merton) Rec(ords) 4102b.

³ Rec. 4249.

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one chest for books, and afterwards, as books increased, with more chests in it'. Certainly, the first books of the College were kept in chests. I find a *cista librorum theologie* mentioned in a bursarial roll of 1297-8;¹ and Dr. Henderson refers to a document of the year 1327 (which I have not been able to trace) in which a *cista pro libris dialecticis* is mentioned. But that these *cistae* ever had a place in the Library there is no evidence. *Cistae librorum* continue to be spoken of long after the date at which the existing Library was built. But they were kept, not in the Library, but in the College Treasury. The old Library, as well as the later one, was a place of *chained books*,² and, so far as our records go, of chained books only. Until this Library was made, the books of the College were, no doubt, kept in chests in the Treasury.

The first Statutes of the Founder (1264) make no mention either of a Library or of books for the use of the Fellows. The Statutes of 1270 and, again, of 1274, prescribe that 'a sufficiency of books and other necessities' shall be furnished to the Grammar Master at the costs of the College. But the Grammar Master was primarily concerned with the boys *de genere Fundatoris*, and not with the Fellows; and of books for advanced students nothing is said.

That the absence of any mention of books in the Statutes is accidental appears from the fact that when, in 1276, Archbishop Kilwardby held a Visitation of the College (the Founder was still living), he issued Ordinances which assume the existence of a common stock of books. These Ordinances are a remarkable document. The original of them, which is catalogued in a list of College Muniments made in 1288,³ is lost. It was last seen in 1598, but survives now only in copies; and

¹ Rec. 3625.

² Rec. 3970d. The Merton library kept its chained books later than any other. The Register records an order of the College to remove the Chains in 1792.

³ The so-called *Liber Ruber*.

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it is probably on this account that its contents have never been printed. The Ordinances provide that both the muniments of the College and the 'libri communitatis' shall be kept under three locks. These 'books of the community' are to be in charge of the Bursar, but he is to assign them for the use of the Fellows on the instruction of the Warden and Sub-Warden.¹ The books so assigned are to be given out against a sufficient pledge. The nature of the pledge is left to the discretion of the officials concerned. But the borrowing of books on pledge is frequently mentioned in later periods; and the pledge for a book borrowed is always itself a book (or books). It is likely that this custom goes back to the beginnings of the College; very early, not only books, but money, were borrowed against a pledge of books. The poverty of the 'poor scholars' who constituted the first fellows was, it is to be feared, not as great as it should have been. Already in 1284 Archbishop Peckham found a strong infusion among them of 'the idle rich'; and from the beginning many of them were, in any case, sufficiently rich to have books of their own. Kilwardby's Ordinances assume that the individual fellows will bring books of their own to the College with them, and that they will buy books of their own while they are in residence. Assuming this, he makes, and gives statutory force to, a very remarkable regulation. He lays it down that any books which a Fellow brings with him to the College, or acquires subsequently during residence, shall remain in the College. If a Fellow dies his debts may be discharged by the sale of his goods 'and even his books', but the rest of his books shall remain the property of the College. If he takes vows, his books shall belong to the College 'ad usum Sociorum'. If he takes a living, he may retain his books, but

¹ Item predicta munimenta Domus custodiant (bursarii) sub tribus ceris (i.e. *seris*), et libros communitatis dicte Domus similiter custodiant, assignandos usibus Sociorum dicte Domus per ordinationem Custodis et Senioris supradicti, sub securitate sufficienti secundum quod viderint expedire.

on an undertaking to leave them to the College at his death, or else to leave 'a just compensation'.

These regulations had, as I say, the force of Statute; and every Fellow, accordingly, upon election, took an oath to obey them. Whether they have their analogues in the rules of other colleges I do not know. But to them, we can hardly doubt, the College owed a large part of its early wealth in books—wealth in comparison, not with the great monastic foundations, but with other colleges. Books resigned, or bequeathed, in accordance with these regulations must always have formed a considerable proportion of the Library of the College. The other sources of supply were (1) free gifts from without, (2) the confiscation of pledged books, (3) purchase. The period of large purchases begins with the Renaissance—assuming its most grandiose proportions under Warden Savile. From the Bursarial accounts of the thirteenth century I can collect only a very few entries for the purchase of books—documents of the period are, of course, scarce. In 1284 Archbishop Peckham ordered the College to buy Papias and Hugutio and the Summa Britonis; and these books were to be chained to a 'fair board' in some accessible place.¹ But Colleges move slowly, even when stimulated by their Visitors. A Hugutio—presumably *the* Hugutio—was purchased in 1289 for £2.² An earlier roll mentions 'xx d solutos pro quodam libro De Comitatu'. Sometimes the books bought are not specified, but we get such an entry as 'In quodam libro empto apud London xxx s'.³ Items for binding the 'libri communes'⁴ are more frequent, I think, than items for purchase. To the chaining of books I have noted no reference earlier than 1354 (save the Injunction of Archbishop Peckham just noticed); but I would not like to say that references may not be found. The phrasing of the

¹ Inter vos super honestam mensam alicubi maneant alligati, ut ad ipsos recurrendi omnes habeant liberam facultatem.

² Rec. 3618.

³ Rec. 3618.

⁴ The phrase occurs in Rec. 3623 (1296).

Archbishop's Injunction clearly implies that a Library did not at the time exist. But that a Library existed in 1338 we know certainly. There survive¹ two documents from that year, and a third from the year following, which contain very full minutes of three College Meetings, or 'Scrutinies', in which matters connected with the Library are several times mentioned. One of the Fellows calls attention to the need of repairs in the Library. Another demands that the Fellows should have free access to the Library. Three propose that 'a pair of Decreta and Decretals' be placed in the Library; while a fourth speaks of 'replacing' these books, as though they had been borrowed. The purchase of Decretals is mentioned in a bursarial account of as early a date as 1289;² and a roll of 1354³ mentions two pairs of Decretals of which one has been given out on loan by the Warden. But the interesting items in the 'Scrutinies' are those which refer to the sale of books, to the pledges given for books, and to the 'division of the books of the House'. One of the Fellows, Sutton, complains that 'the persons who ought to have charge of the pledges (*cautiones*) have not got them; they are not to be found; and it is said that the books are sold and that neither the College nor the owners get any profit from the sale (*habent excrescentiam*)'. This means, I think, that books had been given in pledge to the Bursars, either for other books borrowed (and lost) or for money borrowed; that the pledges had been realized; but that neither the owners of the books nor the College got the benefit of the excess of the sum received over the sum (or value) against which the books were pledged. Two of the Fellows ask for a 'divisio librorum Domus'. The request must be interpreted in the light of a complaint by another Fellow, who says that masters who are not studying Physics none the less keep the philosophical books. The reference in both cases is to the curious system of assigning books to

¹ Rec. 4249.² Rec. 3618.³ Rec. 387od.

students by the method of a periodical *electio librorum*. Some account of this system, as used at Merton, is given in Dr. Allen's paper already referred to; and particulars of its employment in other colleges may be collected from Willis and Clark—though the information which these latter furnish is less full than might be wished. 'The custom', Prof. Willis writes, 'of meeting annually to choose books, or rather to divide them 'all amongst the Fellows in order of seniority, is first mentioned 'at Oriel College in 1329. . . . It subsequently came into use at 'University College, and was adopted by Wykeham and those 'who copied his Statutes. . . . Besides this method of using the 'books, the statutes of University College, dated 1292, order 'that one book of every sort that the House has shall be put in 'some common and secure place, in order that the Fellows, and 'others with the consent of a Fellow, may for the future have 'the benefit of it. These selected books, therefore, were not to 'be locked up in chests, or allowed to be borrowed. Thus the 'common collection was virtually divided into what we should 'now term a Lending Library and a Library of Reference' (the distinction being expressed in, e.g., Queen's College by the division into *libri distribuendi* and *libri concatenati*, but at Merton as *libri in electione* and *libri in libraria*).

Prof. Willis, as will be noticed, conceives of the *electio librorum* as being an annual ceremony, though elsewhere, in respect of one or two colleges, he notices a different practice. Similarly Dr. Allen has assumed for Merton an annual *electio*. It would have been a good thing for Merton if Dr. Allen were right, and if Merton had followed the general practice of colleges. But, as will appear presently, the Merton *electiones* were certainly not annual. It is clear from the Scrutinies that the system was already in working before 1338. It is also clear that it was not working well. Complaint is made that the books of a given subject are kept in the hands of Fellows who are no longer studying the subject. A notable example of this abuse is

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furnished, from a later period, by the College Register for 4 November 1488. There the Sub-Warden, on the occasion of an *electio* of *theological* books, 'delivers to the election of philosophy' five books 'qui erant de sorte magistri Mollond, ut patet in registro facto anno regni regis Edwardi xvi^o'; that is to say, five books which had been assigned to Mollond at an *electio* of books held some twelve years before (1476-7). Mollond was then studying for the Arts degree. He is now reading for a degree in theology. But he had retained his Arts books, his philosophical *electio*, for eleven or twelve years.

The Merton *libri communitatis* were divided into two classes; the *libri in libraria* and the *libri in electione*. That the Library contained, in the early period, other books than chain-books there is no evidence; and it was thus a Reference Library and not a Lending Library. Occasionally, however, against good security, books were lent from it to approved persons. The Warden, for example, is allowed to borrow, with the leave of four seniors, a Liber Decretorum (a book which was certainly never *in electione*) against the pledge of a Commentary of St. Jerome.¹ Similarly a volume of 'Holcot super Sapiens' is lent 'extra librariam' to Mr. Smith of Balliol.² The complaint, made in 1338, that the Library was inaccessible probably had reference to the rule, which then prevailed, by which only masters were allowed to use it—one of the complainants is a bachelor, the other a master. This grievance was not removed until 1484. On 3 November of that year a new Regulation was passed (re-enacted with slight modifications in 1586) by which every Fellow, including bachelors, was given a key of the Library. At the same time every Bachelor was required to take an oath in the following terms:³

Cum ad libros in libraria contentos accesseris, nullam lesionem, quantum humana sinat fragilitas, alicui libro ibidem inferes, nec radendo nec quaternos a

¹ Register, 17 December 1498. There is a similar entry, 29 November 1499.

² Register, 28 March, 1485; 20 August 1485.

³ Register, 3 November 1484.

dictis libris auferendo, sed eosdem honeste tractando indemptos observabis. Item non alienabis occulto vel aperte aliquem librum in dicta libraria ad studium sociorum incathenatum. Et si noveris aliquem vel aliquos dictorum librorum per aliquem sic alienatum vel alienatos, Custodi seu eius in absentia Vice-Custodi, quam cito honeste poteris post tale facinus perpetratum et a te agnitum, personam detegendo, denunciabis. Item si contingat te extraneum aliquem in librariam inducere, cavebis quantum poteris ne per talem inductum aliquod detrimentum aut per quaternorum foliorumve ablacionem aut ipsorum librorum quovismodo alienationem collegio inferatur. Item si contingat te clavem perdere dicte librarie et eandem infra 24 horas non reinvenire, ipsam clavem perdicionem Custodi vel in eius absentia Vice-Custodi sine ulteriori dilacione denunciabis. Item si contingat te devillare, id est te absentem esse per spacium VI dierum ab Universitate ad minus, quod facias per te vel per alium deliberari clavem predictam uni sociorum collegii usque ad tui reventum, si te revenire contingat.¹

It was not, therefore, until nearly the end of the fifteenth century that the Library was open to Fellows of less standing than that of Master ; and it must be supposed, therefore, that the stock of books *in electione*, the books available for lending, was considerable. The *libri distribuendi* were, in fact, the sum

1. When admitted to the use of the books contained in the Library, you shall, so far as the frailty of man permits, do no damage to any book, either by handling it roughly or by tearing out its pages ; but you shall handle the books in a seemly fashion and keep them from all harm.

2. Likewise, you shall neither privily nor openly remove any book which is confined to the Library for the use of members of the College. If you know of any book or books so removed by any person, you shall, so soon as you fairly can after the offence has been committed and become known to you, expose the offender by giving his name to the Warden, or, in his absence, to the Sub-Warden.

3. Likewise, if you happen to bring visitors to the Library, you shall, so far as in you lies, see to it that the College does not, from the introduction of such visitors, suffer any loss by the theft of books or parts of them.

4. Likewise, if you happen to lose the key of the Library, and cannot find it again within twenty-four hours, you shall then, without further delay, report the loss of the key to the Warden, or, in his absence, to the Sub-Warden.

5. Likewise, if you happen to leave Oxford, that is to say to be absent from the University for as much as six days, you shall see to it that you yourself, or some other person, deliver the key to one of the Fellows of the College, against your return, if in fact you do return.

total of the books of the College other than the chained books. At the periodical *electiones librorum* the total stock of unchained books was apportioned among the Fellows. For the purposes of this apportionment the Fellows were divided into two classes, the philosophers and the theologians. This rather inadequate classification is as old as the last in date of the Founder's Statutes (1274). In the second chapter of those Statutes it is laid down that the Fellows shall be bound to the study *artium seu philosophie, canonum seu theologie*. No mention is made of medicine; and the introduction into the College of students of Medicine was, as early as 1284, sharply animadverted upon by the Visitor as an infringement of the Statutes. The Founder's Statutes, again, allowed only specially selected students, four or five in number, to study Law—and these only with the approval of the Warden. The distinction of 'philosophers' and 'theologians' corresponds, accordingly, to that between study for the Arts degree and study for the higher degree in theology; and the *libri distribuendi* of the College seem to have been classified according to this distinction. In all cases save one, where an *electio librorum* is mentioned—and I find in our records notice of as many as 26 *electiones*—the distinction is observed; it is always either an *electio librorum philosophie* or an *electio librorum theologie* (or in *theologia*). Once, but once only, there is mention of an *electio librorum logicalium*.¹ But I am not sure that even there the expression may not be used loosely for 'Arts books'. Logic fell into the first period of the Arts course. In 1520 it was laid down that the Postmasters assigned to junior masters should not only 'have good looks, good manners, good morals, and good clothes', but should have enough wits to be already 'sophists':¹ i. e. should be in the Logic stage of the Arts course. Whatever was expected of the Fellows in the matter of looks, manners, clothes,

¹ Register, 18 March 1497.

it was expected of them that they should have got beyond logic; that they should be 'philosophers'; and when an *electio librorum logicalium* is spoken of, we must suppose, I think, that *logicalium* is i. q. *philosophicorum*. The term *philosophia* was itself not too exactly interpreted. An extant Catalogue, of about the year 1325, of 'Libri Philosophie Aule de Merton' contains the names of one or two non-philosophical works—an *Almagest*, a *Priscian*. It is harder to see why, among the books of a theological *electio*, we should find, as we once do,¹ a copy of the *Epigrams of Martial*. It came in useful; for it was given to the Pope's Chamberlain, and could hardly, therefore, have been better bestowed. The book belonged, we may suppose, on a proper classification, to the *libri grammaticales*. But the lending-library system took no account of this class—only the 'boys of Founder's kin' and the inferior Postmasters were recognized as students of 'Grammar'. The book was too good a book (being a suitable present for a Papal Chamberlain) to be placed among those which were supplied to the Grammar Master. There was no *electio* in Grammar books; and this accordingly was thrown in as a *mantisa* to the *sors* of some theologian. It might more suitably have gone to a philosopher; but, being a book of some value, it was entrusted by preference to a senior, i. e. a theologian.

The official in charge of the *electiones* was always the Sub-Warden. But occasionally the presence of the Warden may be inferred; and it is likely that he was regularly present if he happened to be in residence. The theological *electiones* took place in the Warden's House, the philosophical *electiones* in the Hall.² The Warden and the Sub-Warden had been charged by Archbishop Kilwardby, in 1276, with the duty of distribut-

¹ Register, 20 July 1490. The *secundo folio* reference is to the eleventh epigram of the first Book.

² The place of the *electio* is several times specifically mentioned; and there is no contrary instance.

ing the *libri communitatis*, while the custody of them was the care of the Bursar. This was in the period when the books of the College were kept in chests in the Treasury. When the first Library came into being, the books of value were placed there, and safely chained. The Treasury and its chests, and the Bursar, ceased to be needed. The books which were valuable, or unique, were in the Library; and the books in common use, the books of less value, and those of which there were more than one copy, became *libri distribuendi*. That the Bursar should still be charged with keeping these 'under three locks' was to inconvenience unnecessarily both the guardian and the users of books. As a Library official, accordingly, the Bursar disappears. The Librarian is the Sub-Warden, acting under the general supervision of the Warden; and in the middle of the fourteenth century various costs of the Library—the charges for binding, chaining, repairs, &c.—begin to appear in the accounts, not of the Bursar, but of the Sub-Warden. The first example which I have noted of a Sub-Warden's Account in which Library expenditure appears is in fact a roll of the year 1354; and appropriately enough it is in the hand of William Rede, subsequently Bishop of Chichester, and a splendid benefactor, not only of the Merton Library, but of several other Oxford Libraries. Rede is perhaps sufficiently interesting to make it worth while to set out the Library items in his account: ¹

Expense circa Item computat in illuminatoribus cuiusdam Tabule ² nobis
libros et Librariam legate per magistrum Willelmum Ynge, et unius alterius
expositor' xvs iiij d. Item in ligatione eiusdem Tabule xvij d. Item in reparatione
j paris Decretalium et j Summa Confessorum xviii d. Item in ligatione alterius
paris Decretalium accommodat' per Custodem cuidam Capellano de Elham xij s.
Item in storiis emptis pro Libraria xj d. Item pro cera et clavibus et firmatione
librorum in Libraria xvij d.

¹ Rec. 3970.

² For the species of book known as *Tabula* see Magrath, *The Queen's College*, i, p. 128.

It would be interesting to know whether either of the two pairs of Decretals mentioned was that about which there was question at the Scrutiny of 1338. Some better instructed person will, no doubt, be able to throw light on the purchase of *storia* for the Library. More than once a fourteenth-century Sub-Warden's account¹ mentions the purchase, at festival seasons, of *storia* 'ad corum ecclesie et ad altaria in vestibulo'. I have noted also from a bursarial roll of 1398 a charge of 13s. 4d. 'pro storiacione Librarie'.

An *electio librorum* is often spoken of as held 'sub Vicecustode'; and once at least it is spoken of as *his* electio.² The expression *electio librorum* is usually interpreted—and naturally—to mean that the Fellow who received the books himself made the selection, or election. Occasionally the books assigned to a given Fellow are spoken of as his *electio*. But the more correct term here would seem to be that used elsewhere, whereby the books are said to be his *sors*—his lot or luck. The actual choice and assignment to individual Fellows was made in Merton by the Sub-Warden; and this constitutes a difference from the practice of other colleges as that is given in the notes collected by Prof. Willis. The Merton method appears clearly from the account given of the *electio* of 8 December 1519. A good many books had gone astray. The offending Fellows were summoned by the Warden, who there and then made a complete redistribution, assigning the books to those of the Fellows whom he thought to be most suitable 'donec tempus oportunum per Vicecustodem pre eorum diligenciore seleccione observanda provideatur'—till the Sub-Warden could make a better thought-out assignment.

This was an *electio* of philosophical books; and the account implies, I think, that the Warden was himself present. Not only was he commonly present at the theological *electiones* (which were held in his Lodgings), but he was, I should suppose,

¹ e. g. Rec. 3970, 3971, 3972d.

² Register, p. 133 Salter.

actually the custodian of the theological books. This would explain why the *electiones* took place, for theology, in his Lodgings, and would also explain the entry, on a list of books belonging to the Warden, 'Libri proprii, non de Domo'. That the authority of the Warden was often required at these *electiones* seems only too probable from the scarcely believable carelessness with which the Fellows seem to have treated the books entrusted to them. I have noticed already the trouble which arose at the *electio* of 1519 from the fact that books had strayed from their proper custodians to other persons. The Warden on that occasion intervened energetically, making a new assignment of books himself on the spot. The assignment was to hold good until the Sub-Warden should devise something better and more permanent. This is the last *electio* recorded in those portions of the College Register which Mr. Salter has printed; and in the unprinted portions which follow I have found no record of any subsequent *electio*. I am inclined to think, therefore, that the trouble which arose in 1519 made an end of the whole system. It was not the first time that trouble had arisen. At an *electio* held on 16 December 1513 four Fellows were found to have lost one book apiece, two had lost two apiece, one had lost four. The defaulting Fellows, following what must be inferred to have been a recognized custom, handed in other books in lieu of those which they had lost; and the books so handed in were placed in a chest in the Treasury. In the case of one offending Fellow (who presumably had no books of his own) the books handed in as pledges were those of an obliging friend.¹ The books were placed in the Treasury chest, not because the Treasury was still in use as a Library, but because it was the depository of *all* pledges. If the lost books were found, the pledges would, no doubt, be released. Sometimes severer penalties were enforced. Two of the Fellows, Ireland and Adams, had managed between them to lose a 'Commentator

¹ Register, Salter, pp. 441-2.

super libros Phisicorum'. At the Scrutiny of 17 December 1493 they were ordered to produce the book by the date of the Scrutiny next following; in default, they must either hand over 'some book of like value and estimation' or else pay one mark to the College. If the required satisfaction was not forthcoming, they were to be discommonsed until it was. At the next Scrutiny, the book could still not be produced, and the offenders were ordered to pay two nobles between them. Adams's fine was paid at once; that of Ireland subsequently. Nearly nine years later the book turned up; and the amounts which the two had paid were refunded to them by the Bursar.¹

The case of Ireland and Adams, who were made jointly responsible for a lost book, and the fact that, in 1513, the books lost by one Fellow were met by the pledge of other books given in his name by a friend, indicates, I think, that, when a *sors* of books was intrusted to an individual Fellow at an *electio* it was recognized that this *sors*, though it was his personal assignment, for the safe custody of which he primarily was responsible, was, in some degree, available for other Fellows, at any rate for his friends. This assumption derives support from the very considerable number of books which were entrusted to an individual fellow—sometimes as many as forty: so many books could hardly be intended merely for his personal use. The system, in effect, made of each of the Fellows a kind of Sub-Librarian; or at least connived at his exercise of such a function.² The confusion which such a system might easily involve is well illustrated by the *electio* of 3 April 1508. The cases of default already noticed have been in connexion with philosophical books, the books of the juniors. But the *electio* of April 1508 was a theological *electio*; and the Fellows concerned, therefore,

¹ Register, Salter, pp. 179–80, 270.

² The complaints made at the Scrutiny of 1338, that Fellows monopolized books which they were not reading, shows, I think, only that the degree in which a Fellow lent out the books of his *sors* was a matter for his own discretion.

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were of some standing, and 'old enough to know better'. But the situation revealed by this *electio* is little short of astonishing. Fifty-two books in all were found to be missing. The mildest offender, Gyding, had lost four books. Adams (an old offender, now a Doctor) had lost twenty, among them a Bible. Matston had lost *the whole of his sors*, twenty-eight volumes! What action was taken, we are not told. The *electio* was held 'in domo Custodis'. But it may be inferred that the Warden (Fitzjames) was not present; for in the margin of the Register he has entered an ominous note: 'Nota hic carentiam librorum in ultima electione'—to remind himself, I imagine, to animadvert upon the matter at the next Scrutiny (due a fortnight later).

The confusion was greatly increased by the irregular intervals at which the *electiones* took place. As has been already noticed, some colleges had the custom of an annual *electio*. This was the custom, for example, at Oriel, where there was an *electio* at the beginning of every November. But Oriel can hardly have possessed the same wealth of books as Merton. The Oriel Statutes of 1329 clearly contemplate that at the annual *electio* the books of the College will not ordinarily suffice to supply an individual fellow with more than one book; and this at a time when, at Merton, the books circulated among the 'philosophers' alone were, we know, over eighty (see below, p. 332). At Trinity Hall, Cambridge, there seems to have been some kind of *electio* twice a year; though there, as at Merton, the Law books were never placed *in electione*. New College, otherwise following closely the Trinity Hall regulations, held an annual *electio*, placing, however, its Law books also *in electione*, and, in fact, giving to its Fellows greater freedom in respect of these than in respect of any other books. Any fellow studying law might have two law books in his *electio* for the whole period of his study in the faculty. This provision as to law books seems to be found only at New College and—in a later period—at

All Souls. Except for this special provision for Law Books, the New College regulations seem to have been adopted by a number of other colleges.¹ But the Merton system seems to differ from that of all other colleges—just as it probably goes back to an earlier date. The *electiones* took place at irregular, and widely separated, intervals; and at any time of the year. The following is a complete list of known *electiones*. The first four are known from lists still surviving of the books borrowed; the others are known from the Register of the College.

ASCERTAINED DATES OF *ELECTIONES*

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Librarian.</i>
1372		
1375		
c. 1410		
1451.		
<1477>		
1483 Oct. 24	Philosophy	Lyndley
1483 Nov. 11	Theology	Lyndley
1486 Feb. 28	Philosophy	Lyndley
1486 March 1	Theology	Lyndley
1488 Aug. 5	Philosophy	Harper
1488 Nov. 4	Theology	Harper
1490 March 16	Theology	Trowell
1495 March 18	Theology	Mollond
1497 March 18	Philosophy (Logic)	Mollond
1498 March 12	Theology	Saunders
1499 Feb. 21	Philosophy	Bernard
1500 Aug. 26	Philosophy	Saunders
1503 May 15	Philosophy	Adams
1504 Oct. 14	Theology	Adams
1505 Sept. 25	Philosophy	Consaunt
1508 April 3	Theology	Matston
1508 April 4	Philosophy	Matston
1513 Dec. 16	Philosophy	Hill
1515 May 18	Theology	Symons
1519 Dec. 8	Philosophy	Knight
1519 Dec. <9>	Theology	Knight

¹ See Willis and Clark, *Architectural History of Cambridge*, Part iii, pp. 387 sqq.

The Register, especially in its earlier portions, is carefully kept; and it is clear from it that the *electio librorum* was regarded as an event of importance in the college, deserving record. It is in the highest degree unlikely that, if it was an annual event, there should be recorded, over thirty-six years, only twenty-one *electiones* in all, instead of seventy-two.¹ But at least one entry in the College Register puts the matter beyond dispute. At the *electio* of 1519, already mentioned, a number of books were found to have gone astray, and it is stated that the *rotulus librorum electionis* is in the hands of Wayt and must be more carefully looked after. Now the last previous *electio* mentioned had been that of December 1513. The Sub-Warden presiding had been Hill; but he had just succeeded Wayt; and it would seem that Wayt had failed to hand over to him the *rotulus electionis librorum*. The reference to Wayt, accordingly, in 1519 seems to show clearly that the last *electio* had been the last which the Register mentions, held six years previously, in 1513.

We must suppose, I think, that it was left to the Warden and Sub-Warden—in practice, perhaps, to the latter only—to determine the times at which *electiones* should be held. At the Scrutinies it was open to any fellow to propose that there should be a new *electio*. But the records of lost books are so remarkable as to suggest that the fellows may often have been more concerned to stave off an *electio* than to precipitate one. Some of the Fellows were careless and lost their books, or allowed others to lose them. Others of them were selfish, and wished to retain their *sortes*. Occasionally, perhaps often, there would be Sub-Wardens who were negligent or complaisant. Fitzjames, who was Warden for a large part of the time covered by our records, combined his office with three successive

¹ The *electio theologie* is always treated as a quite distinct ceremony from the *electio philosophie*. Where the two occur at the same season, the day and place is always different.

bishoprics, and necessarily left a good deal to his subordinates. Somewhat after this fashion, many causes converging, I should explain the singularly casual fashion in which the distribution of the books of the College was regulated.

So far as there can be said to have been a Librarian, it was the Sub-Warden. So far as the actual Library was concerned, his duties were not many. That he could determine the purchase of books, there is no evidence, nor is it likely. Payments for books purchased were made, I think, always by the Bursar. On the other hand, binding, chaining, and repair of books was the Sub-Warden's business; and there, I should suppose, in the Library itself, his functions ended. He had no power to lend any book out of the Library: this lending 'extra Librarian' required the consent of at least four 'seniors' and was a somewhat rare event. Sometimes the consent of the whole College was required; and even then there might be trouble in store for the Sub-Warden. The College agreed to lend the Dean of Wells a map of England belonging to the Library, provided that the Dean deposited 40s. with the Sub-Warden as a guarantee for its safe return. The map was returned—and so was the 40s. But it was subsequently discovered that the Dean had so misused the map that it was now useless. The College made the Sub-Warden liable; but he was fortunately able to persuade the Dean to replace the damaged map by a new one.¹ Many, probably most, of the books chained in the Library came there by gift or bequest; and it was common for a gift or bequest of books to be accompanied by the condition that the books should be chained. Such a condition is often mentioned in the Register; and cases where a gift of books is placed *in electione* are not common.² This merely means, of course, that the chained books were the more valuable; and we may assume that of the books of the

¹ Register, Salter, pp. 431, 436, 442.

² The Register for November 1488 furnishes an example.

'lending library' the greater number were not of particular value. Books are, however, mentioned as in *electione* which could not have been cheap; and the account given in the Register¹ of the *electio* of November 1413 suggests that the *sors* of an individual Fellow was so arranged as to contain a proportion of *maiores libri*. It was the making up of these *sortes*, and their periodical assignment and reassignment, which constituted the principal duty of the Sub-Warden as Librarian. But it was not primarily a duty of Librarianship as we conceive that function. The Sub-Warden's duty was so to arrange the distribution of books as to ensure that a given student had uninterrupted use of the books necessary to him in the particular sub-division of his degree course which the books covered. But he discharged this duty, as it would seem, in a very mechanical fashion. The different *sortes* given out seem to have been arranged without any particular regard to the abilities or knowledge of the individual student. They were put together to meet, not individual needs, still less tastes, but what may be called faculty needs; to cover, that is, a particular period in the course of *any* student. The *sors* of one student seems often to have passed, as it stood (or, allowing for a rather high rate of lost books, as it *had* stood) to the next student in the same stage of academic progress. For Dr. Allen's assumption, that when a student had done with a particular book, he returned it, I can find no support. Again and again our records speak of the *sors* being handed in (or what remained of it) *as a whole*. Indeed, one of the reasons for the system of *electiones* was precisely that the books should not be handed in one by one. The system aimed, with results however disappointing, at the safe custody of the books. If they were handed in, as finished with, at all times and seasons, where were they to be placed, and who was to guard them? They were not books for chaining; and except for its chains, the Library afforded no safety

¹ Salter, p. 441.

—every fellow had a key to it, there was no Library Clerk, no possible check. That a student should return his book, and that it should then be placed, in the old manner, in a chest, under three locks, could serve no useful purpose. It would merely put the book out of circulation again, and to free it would need all three keepers of the keys. By the system of *electiones* it had always at least a limited circulation and a chance, not much to be relied on, it is true, but still a chance, of safe-keeping. The system aimed, as I have said, at making every Fellow in some sort a sub-librarian.

That it worked badly at Merton seems certain from what has already been said. Information as to how it worked in other colleges is, unfortunately, not available. But I am inclined to think that it worked badly in Merton just because that college was rich in books. Whereas in, say, Oriel, the books available for an individual Fellow were, at any *electio*, not more than one or two, in Merton the number was anything from eight to forty. This wealth of books was such that a fresh *electio* each year was no great convenience to any one. Most of the Fellows had such books as they needed; most of them lent, and borrowed, freely among themselves. The more the books, the fewer the *electiones*; and again, the fewer the *electiones*, the greater the carelessness of the users of the books. Even so, the intervals that separate *electiones* are not a little remarkable. Between 1488 and 1497 there was no philosophical *electio* at all. Yet during that period something near two generations (speaking academically) of Arts students must have completed their Arts course; and twenty-two new Fellows had been elected. A part explanation of this may be that, by the new Rules, the Library of chain books had just been made open to every bachelor Fellow on election; and again, there had been, during the period in question, two visitations of the Plague. There is a six-year gap between theological *electiones* in 1498-1504, and a seven-year gap in 1508-15. The theology

course, however, was a more serious business than the Arts course; and a parallel to the Merton practice in respect of theological books may be found in the rules of New College and All Souls as to Law books.¹ In general, none the less, the laxity of the Merton system is remarkable. We must suppose, I think, that, for the period in which our records are fullest, we see it already in its decay—a decay brought about by the very wealth of the institution which the system served.

What this wealth was may be conjectured approximately by the aid of the early Catalogues described in Dr. Allen's paper, and by the lists of books assigned at *electiones* (of some of which Dr. Allen gives particulars). A Catalogue of 'Libri Philosophie Aule de Merton' of about the year 1320 gives the names of eighty 'Arts' books. A Catalogue of books of theology of the year 1360 enumerates 250 books in that faculty, of which thirty-one are said to be 'in Libraria'—the rest, therefore, belonging to the 'libri distribuendi'. It is hardly likely, I think, that at this date the Library contained *only* thirty-one theological books. I should suppose, accordingly, that the theological catalogue of 1360 is an exhaustive list neither of the theological books *in libraria* at this date nor of the 'Lending Library'. But this is an uncertain speculation. The ascertainable figures for 'Arts' books are as follows:

1320	80	1410	185	1500	375
1372	136	1451	238	1519	259
1375	141				

The first of these figures is from the Catalogue of c. 1320; the four that follow are from Dr. Allen's *electio* lists; the last two from the College Register. The figures for 1500 and 1519 deserve special notice. That in 1500 no less than 375 'Arts' books should have been available for *electio* is remarkable. Of the Fellows of that date only six were of less than seven years standing. Most of them, accordingly, must already have

¹ See above, p. 326.

passed the 'Arts' stage; and the philosophical *sors* of an individual fellow must in this year have been very large. In 1519 the 259 philosophical books were divided among twelve Fellows. But the drop from 375 books of 1500 to the 259 of 1519 is significant. The *electio* of 1519 was the occasion, already noticed, of a drastic intervention by the Warden, due to the number of books which had gone astray; and I have suggested that the trouble on this occasion (conjoined with the scandal of the theological losses in 1508) led to the final abandonment of the system of *electiones*. The figures do, I think, in fact mean that between 1500 and 1519 no less than 116 of the 'Arts' books of the College had been lost by the carelessness of the Fellows—not much short of a third of the total 'Lending Library' in that faculty. Indeed, we may conjecture that the loss was heavier, since otherwise we must assume that, during the period, no new books in the faculty had been acquired at all.

The theological books of Dr. Allen's 1360 Catalogue numbered 250, of which 219 were 'extra Librariam'. In 1519 only 196 were divided *in electione*. Not only, we see, has the number of theological *libri distribuendi* not increased in this 140 years period, but it has dropped. The best comment on that drop is the circumstance, already noted, that at the *electio* of 1508 it was discovered that in three and a half years (the last previous *electio* was in 1504) no less than fifty-two books had become lost. Even so, the *libri distribuendi* of the College must have amounted in 1360 to something between 300 and 400 books for the two faculties. In 1500 the number must have been about 600—this is a low estimate, since it assumes that the sum of theological books had not increased since 1360; a more probable figure would be something in the neighbourhood of 700. These are all books 'extra Librariam'; and even so the figure takes no account of such books in Grammar and Logic as we must suppose to have been kept for the use of the

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Grammar Master and the Postmasters. Of the philosophical and theological books on these lists a certain number must have been duplicated by copies 'in Libraria'; and in the Library were housed, besides the more valuable books in theology and 'Arts', the whole of the books of Civil and Canon Law, as well as a limited number of 'Libri Medicinæ'. At the time when the printed book first began to displace the written book, the MSS. of the College cannot have fallen far short of 1,000 in number, and may very well have exceeded that figure.

Dr. Allen has pointed out that of the 320 MSS. which the College still possesses only twenty-four can be traced in the old Catalogues and lists of *electiones*. Most of these MSS. came to the College by gift or bequest in the fifteenth century—Dr. Allen mentions the gifts of Wardens Sever and Fitzjames; but another Warden, Bloxham, deserves grateful memory. We have still fourteen MSS. which he gave to the College; and the records of the building of the Library (the most important of them written in his hand) show that he was, if not the architect of that most beautiful of English medieval Libraries, at any rate its enthusiastic overseer.¹ If of the extant MSS. we add 300 to the figure of 600 already given (as a low estimate) for the total of 'libri distribuendi' in 1500, this would make the sum of Merton MSS. in that year 900. But the figure 600 is an underestimate; and the 300 MSS., again, which I have added to that, represent, quite certainly, only a part of a larger collection. Of the 100 MSS., for example, which Rode gave to the College, only thirty-six survive to-day. If there had been a proportionate loss among the MSS. of other donors, the wealth of Merton MSS. in 1500 must have been much in excess of the 1,000 books which I have suggested;

¹ Rec. 4102b. Bloxham, and his principal mason, Humbernyle, visited the Library of the Preaching Friars in London; and to that Library, we may suppose, the Merton Library owes something of its form and plan. Bloxham mentions several conferences which he had with Bishop Rede.

and Dr. Allen's paper makes it probable that the malice of the Reformation damaged the Library hardly less than the carelessness of the Fellows in the period immediately preceding.

It was not until 1659 that the College appointed a Librarian. It was enabled to do so by the generosity of one of its Fellows, Griffin Higgs. One of the objects nearest to Higgs's heart was that the College should be well supplied, not merely with theology, but with *polemical* theology ; and he left directions to this end. One of the duties of Higgs's Librarian was to write letters to rich men asking for gifts. He was lucky in his first Librarian. The College appointed Robert Huntingdon. Whether Huntingdon was successful in soliciting other benefactors, I do not know. But he became himself a splendid benefactor of the Library, in a new direction of interests. In 1671 he sent to the College, from Aleppo, the fifteen fine Oriental MSS. which it still treasures.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON SOME MARSTON QUARTOS AND EARLY COLLECTED EDITIONS

By ROBERT E. BRETTL

1. The three states of the first edition of *The Malcontent*, 1604.



M O N G copies of the first edition are to be found three states of the text on leaves B 1 verso and B 2 recto, due, apparently, to the accidental omission of a line on B 2 recto, to its insertion and the consequent shifting of another line from B 2 recto back to B 1 verso, and to the deliberate excision of a line on B 1 verso referring offensively to the Church.

The Bodleian copy (Malone 252, the third play) shows the first state of the leaves. On B 1 verso Malevole replies :

'From the publick place of much dissimulation ; | the Church.'

The first line on B 2 recto is :

'*Pietro*. O ! a religious pollicie.'

Malevole's answer is only of one line :

'*Mal*. But damnation on a politique religion.'

The two copies in the Huntington Library are apparently of the second state. In the Bridgewater copy the first line of B 2 recto has been brought back to the foot of B 1 verso and room made for it by reducing the space leads of the scene heading on that page. An extra line has been added to Malevole's answer on B 2 recto :

'*Mal*. But damnation on a politique religion. |

I am wearie, would I were one of the Dukes hounds now.' The later reference—'dogst rumor still'—with its play on the word 'hounds', would seem to show that this added line had been accidentally omitted in the first state of leaves B 1 verso

and B 2 recto. The Kemble-Devonshire copy in the Huntington Library is identical with the Bridgewater copy except that the words, 'the Church', on B 1 verso have been scratched out.

The Dyce copy (6250) shows the third state. Here B 2 recto is the same as in the second state, but on B 1 verso the one line, 'the Church', has been taken out and the lines above apparently moved down, leaving more space between the lines of the scene heading. The semicolon left after 'dissimulation' would show that the speech was incomplete and had probably been tampered with.

[I am indebted to the head of the department of English Literature at the Huntington Library for descriptions of their copies and for first directing my attention to discrepancies between their copies and the copy used by Dr. Greg (*The Library*, vol. ii, 1921-2, pp. 49-57).]

2. The relation of the second to the first edition of *The Fawn*, 1606.

The title-page of the apparently self-styled second edition speaks of a first with many faults that went uncorrected because of the author's absence. The publisher's statement is borne out by Marston in his note appended to his address 'To my equall Reader'. But the corrections in the text are not many nor very important, and there would seem to be some slight exaggeration in the title-page advertisement.

The typographical differences and agreements may be arranged in three groups. First, there are sheets or parts of sheets identical in the two editions; that is, sheets or parts of sheets in the second edition printed from type standing after the first edition without any apparent unlocking of the formes. Secondly, there are sheets or parts of sheets printed from type standing after the first edition but showing traces of the unlocking of the formes for deliberate corrections. Lastly, there are sheets or parts of sheets entirely reset, probably after the

partial distribution of the type of the first edition, but showing as far as possible a line by line, page by page, reprint.

(1) Sheet F is unchanged in the two editions.

(2) Corrected with type standing. Both formes of sheets D and I; the inner formes of sheets G and H.

(3) Entirely reset. Both formes of sheets A, B, C and E; the outer formes of sheets G and H.

As there seems to have been no promiscuous binding of the sheets, the corrected version can very properly be called a second edition.

The corrected edition must have followed very quickly after the first, while the type of the later sheets of the first was still standing. Moreover, the *Stationers' Register* entry of 12 March 1606 doubtless refers to the first edition; and Marston, in his note to the reader added in the corrected edition, announces his intention of presenting a tragedy (which the marginal note names *Sophonisba*) which was entered on the *Stationers' Register* on 17 March 1606. Marston most probably knew that his play *Sophonisba* was at the press, and he may have been correcting proofs of it at the same time or just after he had corrected his copy of the faulty first edition of *The Fawn*.

3. *The Insatiate Countess*, 1613, 1616, 1631.

The Insatiate Countess. First Edition. 1613.

Title-page. The | Insatiate | Countesse. | A | Tragedie :
| Acted at VWhite-Fryers. | [line] | VVritten | By Iohn Marston.
| [line] | [orn.] | London : | Printed by T. S. for Thomas Archer,
and are to be sold | at his shop in Popes-head-Pallace, neere the |
Royall-Exchange. 1613.

Description. A to I in fours, K 1 only—originally, possibly, 9½ sheets.

Copies. At least five are known: Dyce (6257); Bodl. (4to. T. 35. Art.); B. M. (644 b. 72—imperfect, lacking any part of sheet K); Huntington; W. A. White.

There is some slender evidence for an anonymous reissue of the play in the same year. The title-page of the Bodleian copy is mutilated in that Marston's name has been cut out although it is supplied in apparently contemporary handwriting. Moreover, the head of the department of English Literature in the Huntington Library informs me that in their (Devonshire) copy a section of the title-page, following the single rule after 'Acted at VVhite-Fryers' and above the ornament before the imprint, has been cut out clear across and replaced by a piece of blank, contemporary, paper.

There are two reasons for the mutilations or possible reissue. The first and much more probable is that Marston, after some copies of the play had been published, saw reason to refuse his name to the title-page of the play, and the remainder of the publisher's stock was thus mutilated or supplied with a cancel section of the title-page. The second reason is that Marston's name had no right to appear on the title-page, and that after appearing there in error it was subsequently excised. In this view, the author of the play cannot have been known, or his name was of no importance for the purpose of a title-page.

To anticipate a little, it may be pointed out that an anonymous edition of the play appeared in 1616, of which two copies are at present known, and that a signed edition came out in 1631 of which twelve copies are known. Apparently a second issue of the 1631 edition appeared in the same year with a cancel title-page assigning the play to William Barksted; only one copy is at present known of this reissue.

It is, I think, to be accepted as certain that Sheares's collected edition of Marston's plays under Marston's name in 1633 was stopped, and cancels supplied throughout to remove any trace of Marston's authorship. Marston saw his own plays through the press in 1606 and apparently took no objection to his name on the title-page of *What You Will* in 1607. One may conjecture that during the period 1607-33 his attitude towards

his plays underwent a change. He was vicar of Christchurch in Hampshire from 1616 to 1633, and I have recently found that he took holy orders in 1609. Possibly from about the year 1609 he saw reason to refuse his name to a play-quarto or collection. With regard to his influence with printers and publishers, it may be noted that, according to his own and more especially his widow's will, an 'ancient friend' of his was Henry Walley, a bookseller in London at the Hart's Horn, perhaps in Foster Lane, 1608-55. Walley was Clerk of the Company of Stationers, 1630-40, and Master of the Company in 1655.

The Insatiate Countess. Second Edition. 1616.

Title-page. The | Insatiate | Countesse. | [line] | [orn.] | [line] | London, | Printed by N. O. for Thomas Archer, and are to bee | sold at his Shop in Popes-head Palace, neere | the Royall Exchange. 1616.

Description. A—I in fours, nine sheets.

Copies. The Bodleian copy (Malone 252, the ninth play) appears to be one of only two known at present. The other, in the Huntington Library, is described as a small quarto coming from the Kemble-Devonshire collection.

Relation of the second to the first edition. There can be no doubt that the 1616 edition is a distinct second edition. It is apparently set up, more economically, from the 1613 edition and uses a slightly wider type-page—an advantage in the prose passages—and one line of print more to a page (see 1613 F 2 verso and 1616 F 2 recto). There is no lavish spacing; superfluous [lines] are avoided (see 1613 F 3 verso and 1616 F 3 recto), and the stage directions are contracted and inset.

Thomas Archer is still the publisher of this anonymous edition, but the printer this time is 'N. O.', probably Nicholas Okes. Our surmise, that the 1613 edition with Marston's name was stopped and the title-page mutilated or partly cancelled

to remove any trace of Marston's authorship, is apparently borne out by the fact that in 1616 Archer was still mindful enough of the 1613 prohibition not to allow Okes to put Marston's name in the title-page.

The Insatiate Countess. Third Edition. First Issue. 1631.

Title-page. The | Insatiate | Countesse. | A | Tragedie : | Acted at White-Fryers. | [line] | VVritten | By Iohn Marston. | [line] | [orn.] | [line] | London, | Printed by I, N. for Hugh Perrie, and are to be | sould at his shop, at the signe of the Harrow in | Brittaines-burse. 1631.

Description. A—I in fours, K 1 only—originally, probably 9½ sheets.

Copies. At least twelve are known: Bodl. (Douce M.M. 476 and Malone 180, the sixth play); B. M. (C. 12. g. 8 (1), and 644. e. 71); Dyce (6258); Huntington; W. A. White; Boston; Clawson; Nat. Lib. of Scotland; Chapin; Univ. of Texas.

Entry in the Stationers' Register. 10 February 1631. (Arber, vol. iv, p. 248.) To Hugh Perry from Thomas Archer, all his estate in six books of which the last was 'The Insatiat Countesse'. Archer would seem not to have had the play entered to him in the *Register*.

Relation of the third to the earlier editions. This third edition was printed by 'I, N.', probably John Norton, for Hugh Perry, possibly soon after the transfer of the book from Archer to Perry.

There can be no doubt of the reality of this third edition which appears to be a very close reprint—everywhere page for page, and, for the poetry, line by line—of the 1613 edition. The spacing and lining at the beginning of the acts are very similar, but there are differences in the type used, differences in the adjustment of prose passages, and spelling variations. There are also discrepancies in the text (e.g., line 5 of A 3 verso

1613 reads 'rip'd', 1631, 'ri'dd'); and the marginal notes of the 1613 edition are omitted from that of 1631 (e.g., 1613 B 1 recto $\frac{1}{2}$; D 3 recto $\frac{1}{2}$; E 2 recto top).

It may be that Perry in 1631 was not made aware of any prohibition that Archer may have had in 1613 with regard to the appearance of Marston's name in the title-page, and that his 'copy' for the 1631 edition was a specimen of the 1613 edition without a mutilated or partly-cancelled title-page.

The Insatiate Countess. Third Edition. Second Issue. 1631.

Title-page. The | Insatiate | Covntesse. | A | Tragedy :
| Acted, at White-Friers. | [line] | Written, | By VVilliam
Barksted. | [line] | [device, McKerrow, 265] | [line] | London,
| Printed for Hugh Perrie, and are to be sold at his shop at the |
signe of the Harrow in Brittaines. Burse. | 1631.

Description. A—I in fours, K 1 only.

Copy. The Kemble-Devonshire copy in the Huntington Library is the only one known at present.

Relation of the second to the first issue of the third edition. In the Huntington copy, the leaves have been cut down and inlaid and examination is difficult. But the paper of the title-page is not the same as the paper of the rest of sheet A, and from A 2 recto on the setting of type appears to be the same as in the first issue. The imprint of the first issue has 'Printed by I, N.', and the printer was probably John Norton. The device (McKerrow, 265) on the title-page of the second issue is that of Richard Badger. Mr. C. K. Edmonds of the Huntington Library assures me that a comparison of another book printed by each man about 1630 leaves little doubt that the 1631 edition of *The Insatiate Countess* was printed by Norton rather than by Badger.

I have little doubt that the copy with Barksted's name in the title-page is the same as copies of the edition with Marston's name except for the substituted title-page.

As for the need of the substituted title-page, it would seem that the publisher Perry saw reason, after many copies of the first issue had been sold, for assigning the play to Barksted instead of to Marston. But the lapse of time after the first issue must have been fairly long for twelve copies are now known of the first issue and only one of the second. And the lapse of time might also explain why Perry went to Badger instead of to Norton for the printing of the second issue title-page. On the other hand, the change of printer might make it probable that the second issue title-page was substituted without Perry's knowledge. Grosart long ago suggested that Barksted may have had a few copies of the play struck off in 1631 with his name on the title-page; and it may be true that Barksted went to the printer Badger for a new title-page which found its way as a cancel to a few copies of the first issue of the 1631 edition, only one of which is now known.

4. William Sheares's collected edition. 1633. First Issue.

Description. A, 3 leaves; B—Z, A a—C c in eights; D d, 6 leaves—25 full sheets and two parts. D d 6 is blank, as is probably A 1, missing in the copies that I have seen.

Copies; and the two states of Sheet N. Not many complete copies of the first issue seem to be known; some have obviously been broken up, for there are fragments in various libraries, as, for example, in the National Library of Scotland, in the British Museum (G. 18779), and in the Bodleian Library (Douce M.M. 294).

B.M. 1077. b. 2 is apparently the nearest to perfection, collating A 2—D d 6; Bodl. Mal. 369 is similar, collating A 2—D d 5. But sheet N in these two copies of the first issue of the collection is in two states, that of the Bodleian copy being apparently earlier than that of the British Museum copy. The second state was a line by line reprint of the first, but there are

differences of type and spelling. I give a few of these and note the usage of the quartos.

	<i>Quartos.</i>	<i>Bodl. Mal. 369.</i>	<i>B.M. 1077 b. 2.</i>
N 1 recto, l. 1	bloud	bloud	blood
S. D's. $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$	Massinissa (italic)	(italic)	(rom.)
S. D. $\frac{2}{3}$	Lelius (ital.)	Lelius (rom.)	Lælius (ital.)
N 2 recto, last line	haste	haste	hast
N 2 verso, $\frac{1}{2}$	this vow	this vow	his vow
In both states the signature letter is misprinted M 3.			
N 3 recto, $\frac{1}{2}$	strokes of Chance	stroks of chance	strokes of chance
N 5 recto, S. D.	Phylomuse	Phylomuse	Philomuse
$\frac{2}{3}$	Sineor Snuffe	Sineor Snuffe	Siniør Snuff
N 5 verso, l. 7	fantasie	fantasie	phantasy
N 7 recto, l. 2	Stigian	Stigian	Stigian (ital.)
N 7 verso, last line	boundles	boundles	boundlesse
N 8 recto, $\frac{1}{2}$	Celia	Celia	Cælia
	saunce question	saunce question	sans question

In the B.M. copy the headline of O 1 recto is misprinted 'of Sophonisba'.

It may, I think, be reasonably argued that the state of sheet N in the Bodleian copy is nearer to the quartos than that of the British Museum copy; and that reasoning, with the headline misprint 'of Sophonisba', would put the state of sheet N in the British Museum copy later than that of the Bodleian copy.

The dual state of one sheet may probably be the result of a printing-house accident, hardly of the premature distribution of type.

Second Issue.

Description. Title-page; B—Z, A a—C c in eights; D d, five leaves.

Copies; and the relation of the second to the first issue. It would appear that in this second issue any mention of Marston's name was omitted. A new general title-page was supplied;

the publisher's preliminary epistle was left out; anonymous title-pages were given to the several plays; and the two signed dramatist's addresses to the reader were left unsigned. Dr. Greg, in a review of Chambers's *Elizabethan Stage* (*Review of English Studies*, vol. i, no. 1, p. 105), corrected earlier statements of his own when he said that the anonymous issue of 1633 was later than the signed one and that cancels had been supplied throughout to remove all trace of authorship. There is hardly a possibility of his being in error although the cancels are not always obvious.

Copies of the second issue in their original state are not common. As with the first issue, some seem to have been broken up; fragments are found in the British Museum (C. 12. g. 7.). B.M. 11771 aaa 9 is an imperfect copy of the second issue, collating B 1—D d 5, with leaf R 7 absent and with a signed general title-page inserted. B.M. 644 a 23 is the only 'perfect' copy of the second issue that I have seen. In it, E 7 is a narrower leaf and perhaps a cancel; I 8 may be a cancel but does not appear to be; K 1, both recto and verso, has been entirely reset (an error in the folding or binding makes K 8 come between K 1 and K 2); N 4, R 6, R 7 and Z 2 are obvious cancels. In B.M. 11771 aaa 9, leaves E 7, I 8, K 1 and R 6 are not obvious cancels; but there are more signs of a cancel with leaves N 4 and Z 2.

In the perfect and slightly imperfect copies of the second issue in the British Museum, sheet N is found in what I have called the second and later state—evidence which supports this ordering of the states.

It would seem that after quite a few copies of the first issue of the collection had been published, Sheares was prevailed upon to use cancels in the remainder of his stock to remove any mention of Marston's name. But whether Marston's dislike, after he had taken holy orders, for his former activities as a playwright be the real reason or not for this non-appear-

ance of his name in the second issue, the facts of cancellation remain.

The 'copy' for the 1633 collection. Of five of the six plays reprinted—*Antonio and Mellida*, *Antonio's Revenge*, *Sophonisba*, *What You Will*, *The Dutch Courtezian*—only one edition in quarto had previously appeared. Sheares's choice of 'copy' was thus definitely restricted. Of the two editions of *The Fawn* in 1606, the corrected and the uncorrected versions, Sheares used a copy of the first uncorrected edition. This may be proved by a comparison of the preliminary matter—to go no farther—on leaves R 6 recto to R 8 verso with the preliminary matter of the quartos. The title-page is taken from the first edition, as is the author's address—which lacks the added note of the second edition—and as are the Prologus and list of Interlocutores—which do not show the slight verbal emendations or additions of the second edition.

Reasons may be sought why Sheares did not include *The Malcontent* and *The Insatiate Countess* in his collection. One can hardly imagine Sheares taking a personal interest in the play-canon of a dramatist writing more than a quarter of a century before the time of his collection. He was probably using just common business sense and may have chosen only those plays that seemed to him marketable or available. He may have overslipped *The Malcontent*; and *The Insatiate Countess*, published under Marston's name in 1631, may have seemed to him to be too definitely the property of another publisher.

But it is possible that Sheares, who was certainly nearer to Marston and his time than the next collector of his plays in 1652, was a little dubious about *The Malcontent*, which he may have known to have been published in 1604 'with additions by John Webster'; or he may have taken the erroneous view, held later by Langbaine, that Webster laid the ground-plan of *The Malcontent* while Marston was only responsible for additions and corrections. And he may have been more than a

little dubious about *The Insatiate Countess*, some of whose title-pages in the 1613 edition were mutilated if not cancelled, whose title-pages in the 1616 edition were anonymous, and at least one of whose title-pages in the 1631 edition bore the name 'William Barksteed'.

5. The 1652 Collection.

In 1652 was issued a collection of eight plays, all published separately in quarto between 1602 and 1631, but bound together under a general title-page.

The title-page is as follows :

Comedies, | Tragi-Comedies ; | & | Tragedies : | [single rule]
| Written | By John Marston. [single rule] | [fleur-de-lis
device, as McKerrow, 251, but heavier] | London, | Printed
Ann: Dom: 1652.

(For a transcript of the title-page and for answers to queries I am indebted to the authorities of the Huntington Library.)

As far as can be made out, the eight plays were :

The Malcontent. First Edition. 1604.

What You Will. 1607.

The Dutch Courtezan. 1605.

The Wonder of Women, or Sophonisba. 1606.

Parasitaster, or The Fawn. Second (?) Edition. 1606.

The History of Antonio and Mellida. 1602.

Antonio's Revenge. 1602.

The Insatiate Countess. Third Edition. First Issue. 1631.

The only copy known of this quarto collection was among the Kemble plays, which passed to the Devonshire Library and thence, in 1914, to the Huntington Library. It has there been broken up and the plays sold separately in duplicate sales. All that now remains is the general title-page and *The Malcontent*, 1604.

It is interesting to note that in the same year, 1652, six of Chapman's plays, originally published separately in quarto

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between 1598 and 1608, were collected under a title-page similar to the Marston one and possibly by the same printer or publisher. I am assured that the Chapman title-page in the Huntington copy is from the same setting of type as the Marston one, varying a little apparently through the loosening of the frame in changing the author's name. The 1652 quarto-collections may have been made at the wish of some private collector.

I do not know that the 1652 collector or publisher had means of fixing the canon of Marston's plays other than the statements he found in the quarto title-pages. Unlike Sheares in 1633, he did not overlook *The Malcontent*—although he chose a copy of the unaugmented edition for his collection—nor was he dubious about *The Insatiate Countess*—although he selected a copy of the 1631 edition of that play with Marston's name.

THE EARLIEST TABLES OF THE HIGHWAYS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, 1541-61

By Sir HERBERT GEORGE FORDHAM



IN founding, in my Catalogue of the Road-Books and Itineraries of Great Britain,¹ on the Road-Tables printed in Grafton's *Abridgement of the Chronicles of Englande*, 1570, and his *A litle treatise*, 1571, as being the first known examples for England and Wales of anything in the nature of a 'Road-Book', I was quite alive to the probability, almost amounting to a certainty, that earlier prints of these, or similar, tables had appeared.

Since then I have taken every opportunity which offered for obtaining a bibliographical clue to such publications, but, in spite of this sustained, but perhaps ill-directed diligence, it is only quite recently that, through something of an accident, I have detected an earlier series of road-tables than those of 1570 and subsequent years.

The former are tucked away at the end, making up 4½ to 7 leaves, according to the setting of the type, of a small and trifling historical summary, which passed through the hands of many of the early printers, bearing slightly varied titles, but best known, perhaps, under that of *A cronycle of yeres*.

These thin, little books, standing not more than 140 mm. high, as now cut down and bound, and usually smaller, with twenty to thirty leaves only, will be found gathered up under 'England—Appendix' in the Bibliographical Society's 'Short-

¹ *The Road-Books and Itineraries of Great Britain, 1570 to 1850. A Catalogue. With an Introduction and a Bibliography.* Cambridge University Press, 1924. 4°.

Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1475-1640', recently issued. The *Cronicle of yeres* and the same work under a slightly altered title, *A breuiat Cronicle*, contain tables of the roads of England and Wales during a period of at least twenty years, 1541 to 1561, as far as our knowledge of these little books goes. The list, no doubt incomplete, is as follows :

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Title.</i>	<i>Roads, Number of pages.</i>	<i>Printer.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
1541]	A cronicle of yeres	5	John Judson	London
1543	do.	4½	Thomas Petyt	London
1544	do.	4½	Wyllyam Myddylton	London
1550	do.	5	Wyllyam Powell	London
[1552	do.	5	Wyllyam Powell	London
[1552]	A breuiat Cronicle	5	John Mychell	Canterbury
[1553]	do.	5	John Mychell	Canterbury
[1555]	A Breuiat Chronicle	6	Jhon Kynge	London
[1556]	A Breuyat Chronicle	6	Thomas Marshe	London
[1559]	A Breuiat Chronicle	6	Jhon Kynge	London
[1560]	do.	6½	Jhon Kynge	London
[1561]	A briefe Cronicle	7	Thomas Marshe	London

Throughout the whole series are found the nine following principal thoroughfares : (i) Walsingham to London ; (ii) Berwick to York, and London ; (iii) Carnarvon to Chester, and London ; (iv) Cockermouth to Lancaster, and London ; (v) Yarmouth to Colchester, and London ; (vi) Dover to London ; (vii) Saint Burien to London ; (viii) Bristol to London, and (ix) Saint David's to London. In one case is added a way from Calais to Boulogne, but the names of the localities between these two towns appear to have been so completely anglicized as to make identification difficult. This addition is made in an edition of 'A Cronicle of yeres', printed by William Powell, at the sign of the George next St. Dunstan's Church, London,

1552. In an edition of the same year (1551-2), John Mychell, of St. Paul's parish, Canterbury, omits the Tables of Roads, with this explanation: 'Here I should have put in the notable waies from certaine cities to London, but some of them be not marked truely wherefore I left them out till such tyme as I have more knowledge in these waies.' Mychell, however, printed the nine roads in the usual form in the year 1553, and he seems even to have inserted them in another issue of about 1552, so that his hesitation in the matter was shortlived. It is possible, though not, I think, probable, that impressions some few years earlier once existed, but, in view of the non-existence of these tables in the *Short cronycle* printed by John Byddell in 1539 (as also in his *A cronycle of yeres*, 1542), it looks as if Judson (1541), Petyt (1543), and Myddylton (1544) were the first publishers of these Tables.

There are no road-tables also in *A lytell short Cronycle*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1530. At the same time in the *Cronycles of Englande*, of Caxton, de Worde and Julyan Notary, there are found, from 1498-1528, in the section the Description of England, a chapter entitled 'Of the kynges hye wayes and stretes', which gives a short general description of four roads—The Fossway, Watling Street, Ermin Street, and the Icknield way. The existence and persistence of this description seems to negative any development of a postal system at this period, which, as soon as it came into being, would naturally take its place in any description of the national thoroughfares which received the publicity of impression. This description seems to occur first in the St. Albans Chronycle of Wynkyn de Worde (1498).

I am now, therefore, on pretty safe ground in attributing the very beginnings of the English road-book, in its most elementary form, to the year 1541. It will be noticed that this identification carries the matter back no less than twenty-nine years from the date, 1570, previously adopted in my Catalogue

of 1924. It also gives a priority to England for the germ of the modern road-book over the similar publications on the continent of Europe, although *La Guide des chemins de France* of Charles Estienne (Paris, 1552, 1552 and 1553), must still be regarded as the first regular road-book and itinerary, and as the foundation of this class of literature.

The selection of the nine roads of 1541 should be traceable back to the royal proclamations setting out the posts, and establishing the official postal service, but, unfortunately, none of these early proclamations appear to have survived, and, even towards the end of the sixteenth century, when some few are known, and in the seventeenth century, and subsequently, it is only possible to find casual examples, out of which no historical series can be established.

If the tables of the nine roads are examined, it will be observed that the pilgrim way to St. Mary of Walsingham takes the first place, followed by the old north road, to York and Scotland. The communication with Ireland seems to have been maintained through Carnarvon, or, perhaps, more commonly through Chester. It may also have had an alternative route through St. David's. For France, Dover was the only port recognized, and, on the Dover Road, was Canterbury, a centre of pilgrimage. Serving the north-west of England the road was from Cockermouth *via* Lancaster. Other important routes were those from the east coast port of Yarmouth, through Colchester, and from the great western port of Bristol; the south-west of England was served by the road from Saint Burien, near the Land's End through Exeter.

No industrial centres, apart from the industrial activities associated with the sea-port towns, existed in England at this period, and, if the nine roads are plotted on the map, it will be realized that they served the needs of transport and communication of the moment.

Grafton, in 1570, justifies his claim that his tables are 'newly collected and set forth in a more larger and better maner then heretofore it hath ben' by adding eight roads to London, namely, from Southampton, Nottingham, Lincoln, Boston, Carmarthen, Cambridge, Oxford, and Rye. Of these four are ways of communication with sea-ports—Southampton, Boston, Carmarthen, and Rye—and two with the university towns of Oxford and Cambridge. Grafton also introduced, for the first time, a considerable number of cross-roads. There still remains the difficulty of bridging over the nine years 1561-70, and here the evidence is purely negative, no publication of either of the two series of road-tables being known in this period. The absence of Grafton's set of tables from his *Abridgement of the Chronicles of England* of 1562, 1563 and 1564, goes some way to supporting the date 1570 for the first impression of his tables, but there is, apparently, nothing known of the continuance of publication of the earlier table beyond 1561. It should perhaps be noted that in *An epitome of cronicles* (Thomas Lanquet), 1549, 1559, 1560, 1565, the kind of publication in which road-tables might occur, there is no trace of them. Curiously enough Stow, when he added highways to his 'Summarie of the Chronicles of England' in 1575, reverted to the nine early roads, as did also Jean Bernard in his *Guide des Chemins d'Angleterre*, published in Paris, in 1579.

I subjoin, in facsimile, one of the earliest examples of these road-tables I have now been able to identify, with the title-page of the book in which they occur, the edition of *A cronycle of yeres* printed at the sign of the George by Wylliam Myddylton in 1544. It will be seen that this states on the title-page that to the matter of earlier edition there 'is added the lengthe, bredth, and compasse of Englande: with the nombre of parysshe churches, townes, bysshoprykes, and shyres in the same: besydes Cyties, and Castels. And also the wayes leadynge to the most notable places: and the

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dystaunce betwyxte the same.' These additions follow the general text of the chronicle, of which the last seventeen lines fill the upper half of the page bearing the signature C. iii and end the history of the notable events of the year 1542, the 34th year of Henry VIII. This is the only case of the title-page of 'a cronicle of yeres', &c., in which mention is found of the highways as part of the contents of the book.

¶ Here foloweth the waye from

Douer to London.

¶ From Douer to Caunterbury.	xii. myle.
From Caunterbury to Dittingbozme	xii. myle.
¶ From Dittingbozme to Rochestre.	viii. myle.
From Rochestre to Grauesende.	v. myle.
¶ From Grauesende to Dertfozde.	v. myle.
From Dertfozde to London.	xii. myle.

¶ Here foloweth the waye frō Saint

Burpen in Loynewell to London.

¶ From s Burpen to the Mount.	xii. myle.
From the Mount to s. Crurp.	xx. myle.
¶ From s. Crurp to Bodman.	xx. myle.
From Bodman to Launton.	xx. myle.
¶ From Launton to Oramton.	xv. myle.
From Oramton to Crophoznwell	x. myle.
¶ From Crophoznwell to Exceſtre.	x. myle.
From Exceſtre to Honpton.	xii. myle.
¶ From Honpton to Charde.	x. myle.
From Charde to Crophozne.	vi. myle.
¶ From Crophozne to Dhyzbojn.	x. myle.
From Dhyzbojn to Whaſtreburpe.	xii. myle.
¶ From Whaſtreburpe to Halſcours	xviii. myle.
From Halſcours to Indeuoj.	xv. myle.
¶ From Indeuoj to Balingſtoke.	xvi. myle.
From Balingſtoke to Hertfozdbpyge.	viii. myle.
¶ From Hertfozdbpyge to Bagſhot.	viii. myle.
From Bagſhot to Itane.	viii. myle.
¶ Frō Itane to London.	xv. myle.

¶ Here foloweth the waye from

Wythowe to London.

From Bishome to Warfelde.	x. myle.
From Warfelde to Chyppnam.	viii. myle.
From Chyppnam to Warfelbojow.	xv. myle.
From Warfelbojow to Hungerfojde.	vii. myle.
From Hungerfojde to Newbery.	ix. myle.
From Newbury to Wodpynge.	xv. myle.
From Wodpynge to Wapdenhed.	x. myle.
From Wapdenhed to Colbyoke.	vii. myle.
From Colbyoke to London.	xv. myle.

Here foloweth the waye from

Capnt Dauids to London.	
From Capnt Dauids to Berfojde.	xx. myle.
From Berfojde to Larmarden.	xx. myle.
From Larmarden to Newton.	x. myle.
From Newton to Lanbury.	x. myle.
From Lanbury to Bicknok.	xvi. myle.
From Bicknok to Hape.	x. myle.
From Hape to Berfojde.	xiii. myle.
From Berfojde to Ros.	ix. myle.
From Ros to Gloucestre.	xii. myle.
From Gloucester to Licester.	xv. myle.
From Licester to Laryngton.	xvi. myle.
From Laryngton to Habyngton.	viii. myle.
From Habyngton to Dorchestre.	vii. myle.
From Dorchestre to Henley.	xii. myle.
From Henley to Wapdenhed.	vii. myle.
From Wapdenhed to Colbyoke.	vii. myle.
From Colbyoke to London.	xv. myle.

Imprynted at London
in fletestreete, at the signe of the
George by Wyllyam Wyddelton,

¶ Here foloweth the waye from Ber-

wyke to Yorke, and so to London.

C From Berwyke to Anwik.	xii. myle.
From Anwik to Hoppit.	xii. myle.
C From Hoppit to Newcastell.	xii. myle.
From Newcastell to Dozam.	xii. myle.
C From Dozam to Daryngton.	xiii. myle.
From Daryngton to Rothalerton.	xiii. myle.
C From Rothalerton to Topclif.	viii. myle.
From Topclif to Yorke.	xvi. myle.
C From Yorke to Tadcaster.	viii. myle.
From Tadcaster to Wentbygge.	x. myle.
C From Wentbygge to Donkastre.	viii. myle.
From Donkastre to Corfozde.	xviii. myle.
C From Corfozde to Newarke.	x. myle.
From Newarke to Gantham.	x. myle.
C From Gantham to Staunfozde.	xv. myle.
From Staunfozde to Stilton.	xi. myle.
C From Stilton to Huntington.	ix. myle.
From Huntington to Kopsion.	xv. myle.
C From Kopsion to Ware.	xiii. myle.
From Ware to Waltham.	viii. myle.
C From Waltham to London.	xii. myle.

¶ Here foloweth the waye from Cat-

naruan to Chester and so to London.

C From Carnaruan to Conway.	xxiii. myle.
From Conway to Dynbigh.	xii. myle.
C From Dynbigh to Flynt.	xii. myle.
From Flynt to Chester.	x. myle.
C From Chester to Wyche.	xiii. myle.
From Wyche to Stone.	xv. myle.
C From Stone to Lichfelde.	xv. myle.
From Lichfelde to Colfyll.	xii. myle.
C From Colfyll to Louentre.	viii. myle.

And so from Louentre to London as hereafter.

¶ Here foloweth the wape fro Coker
mouth to Lancaster, and so to London.

C From Cokermouth to Epslwke.	vi mple.
From Epslwke to Glosener.	viii. mple.
C From Glosener to Kendale.	xiii. mple.
From Kendale to Burton.	vii. mple.
C From Burton to Lancaster.	viii. mple.
From Lancaster to Preston.	xx. mple.
C From Preston to Wygam.	xiii. mple.
From Wygam to Warrington.	xii. mple.
C From Warrington to Newcastle.	xx. mple.
From Newcastle to Lychfelde.	xx. mple.
C From Lychfelde to Coentre.	xx. mple.
From Coentre to Danetre.	xiii. mple.
C From Danetre to Towestre.	x mple.
From Towestre to Stonestratfoye.	vi mple.
C From Stonestratfoye to Wyghill.	vii. mple.
From Wyghill to Duntable.	vii. mple.
C From Duntable to Laynt Albons.	x. mple.
From Laynt Albons to Barnat.	x. mple.
C From Barnat to London.	x. mple.

¶ Here foloweth the wape from Jer-
mouth to Chichestre, and so to London

C From Jeremouth to Becclis.	viii. mple.
From Becclis to Blybur.	vi. mple.
C From Blybur to Snappysge.	vii. mple.
From Snappysge to Woddyge.	vii. mple.
C From Woddyge to Ippowyshe.	v. mple.
From Ippowyshe to Chichestre.	xii. mple.
C From Chichestre to Elterfoye.	viii. mple.
From Elterfoye to Chilmilfoye.	x. mple.
C From Chilmilfoye to Bientwod.	x. mple.
From Bientwod to London.	xii. mple.

preferre with hys noble ympe Prynce Edward in ho-
nour, welth, & prosperite longe to endure Amen.

¶ Anno do. M. cccc. xli. Anno. xxiij. Henrici octavi.
Hys Wyghell Dozner, maye.

Hys Rowlande Wyll, Henry Huchley, Wyppes.

In thys yere the x. daye of Marche, there was a
maye boyled in Smythfelde, for poysonyng dyvers
honest personnes, & he had dwelled wthin the cite of
London.

Thys yere came in therie of Desmonde a great
Oneyll out of Irelande and dyd submyete them to the
kynges maiestie and after thei submyssion, the great
Oneyll was created Erie of Tironne, and hys sounne
Baron of Doncannan.

¶ Anno do. M. cccc. xli. Anno. xxiij. Henrici octavi.
John Cotes maye.

Henrici Hoberthjone, Henry Smotes, Wyppes.

Here after foloweth the
lengthe, breadye, and compasse of
Englande with the nombre of parishes chur-
ches, Townes, and Wyghynges.



Lenglande conteyneth the
length, from the uttermost parte
of the North, called Berwiche, to y
uttermost parte of the South, cal-
led Dordedmouth wygh the distaunce
of.ccc.xx. myle. And fro Douer, whi-
che is in y East to y uttermost parte
of y West in Cornewale about y distaunce of.ccc. myle
¶ The length of Englande from Cathmay to the

Calis

March of Scotlande, to Cotnes in Denonshire is.
liii. l. myles.

¶ The byedeth fro saynt Dauids in Wales unto Dos-
wer is liii. l. myles.

¶ And the compass of Englande rounde aboute, is
liii. M. lii. l. ix. myles.

¶ There bene in Englande of parish Churches, to
the nombze of. xlviii. M. viii. l. xxi.

Also there bene in Englande of Byschoppes, to
the nombze of. xxb.

¶ Also there bene in Englande of Myres, oꝝ counties,
to the nombze of. xxbii.

Also there bene in Englande of Townes besyde
Cyties, and Castels, to the nombze ot. lii. M. lxxx.

**¶ Here is shewed how the
Myres lye, with the most and greatest
notable townes: as Myretownes, Cyties,
Boroughes, and market Townes, and
what distaunce they be a sonder.**

¶ Here foloweth the waye

from Walsyngam to London.

¶ From Walsyngam to Bithnam. xli. myle.

From Bithnam to Bandonfere. x. myle.

¶ From Bandonfere to Newemarket. x. myle.

From Newemarket to Bisham. xli. myle.

¶ From Bisham to Barkway. x. myle.

From Barkway to Dukerch. vii. mile.

¶ From Dukerche to Ware. v. mile.

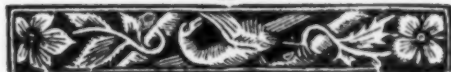
From Ware to Waltham. viii. myle.

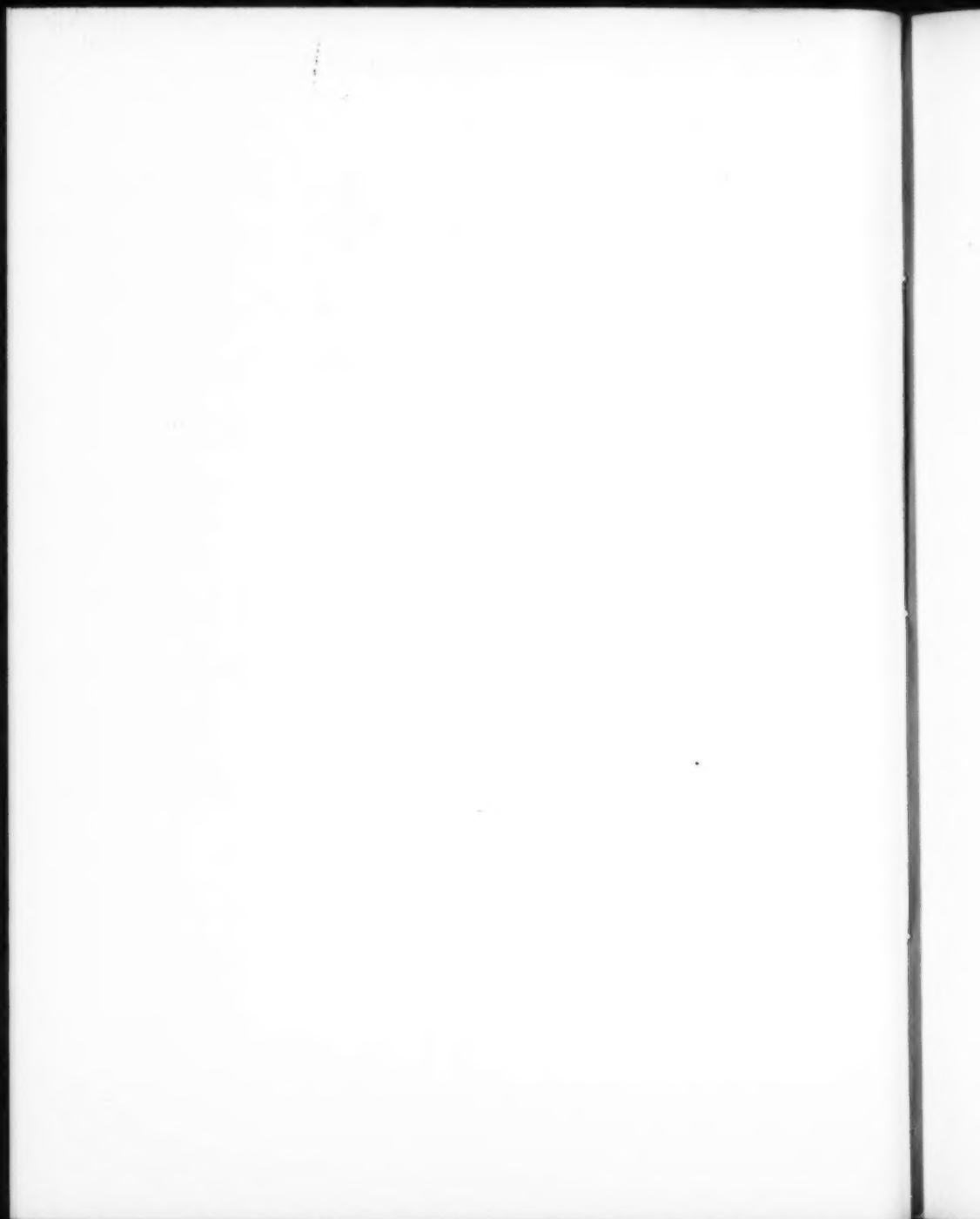
¶ From Waltham to London. xlii. myle.

✿ : A Cronycle

of yeres from the begyn-
nyng of the worlde/ wherein ye
shall fynde the names of all the
kynge of Englande, of the Mayes
and Shyppes, of the cytie of Lodon
and byefelpe of many notable actes
done in, and syns the reygne of kyng
Henry the fourth, newly augmented, &
corrected: wherevnto is added the len-
gthe, bredth, and compasse of Eng-
lande: with the nombze of pa-
ryshe churches, towncs,
byshoppykes, and
kynges in
the same: besydes Cyties, and Castels
And also the wayes leadynge to the
moost notable places: and the dy-
stance betwixte the
same. .

Anno. 1544.





BASLE ORNAMENTS ON PARIS BOOKS, 1519-36

By A. F. JOHNSON



THE school of Basle printers, who under the leadership of Johann Froben made Basle one of the leading cities in Europe in the book trade, left their influence in many towns of lower Germany, in the Netherlands, and at Lyons. The development of printing at Paris in the sixteenth century was not for the most part influenced by Germany, but yet even at Paris, at the very time when Simon de Colines, Geoffroy Tory, and Robert Estienne were flourishing, the number of books printed reminiscent of Basle is rather remarkable. Tory's influence was mainly directed towards leading the book illustrators of Paris to the lighter and more purely decorative style of the Italians; he succeeded in this in spite of his marked inferiority as a draughtsman to the artists of South Germany. The innovations of Froben and the other Basle printers were not so much in typography as in the decoration of books, woodcut initials, and title-borders, which were for the most part cut after the designs of the two Holbeins and Urs Graf. In the following notes their work or copies of their work is traced in books printed at Paris.

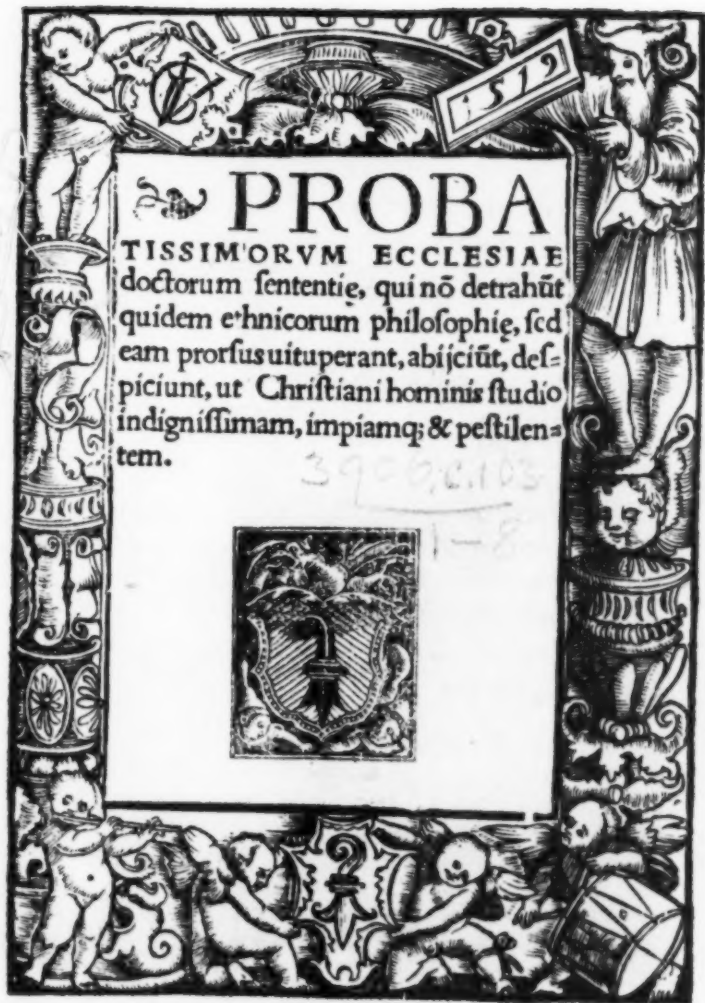
The man who introduced the Basle style into Paris was Conrad Resch, a citizen of Basle, who according to Renouard was working at Paris from 1516-26. Renouard says that he was also a publisher at Basle, but I know of only one book bearing his name which was printed at Basle, *Margarita philosophie*, edited by Oronce Fine, Petri, 1535. His address in Paris was in the Rue St. Jacques at the sign of the 'Écu de Basle'. This house had been known as the 'Corne de Cerf', and either Resch, or another Basle publisher, Watenschnee, changed the name to the 'Écu de Basle'. Resch appears at

first to have had some sort of partnership with Josse Bade, and the earliest Paris books bearing his name and device of the scutcheon of Basle are typical of the books printed by Bade, e.g., the *Questiones et decisiones physicales*, edited by Georg Lokert, 1518. But in 1519 and 1520 there were published by Resch books with three different title-borders which are the work of Urs Graf.

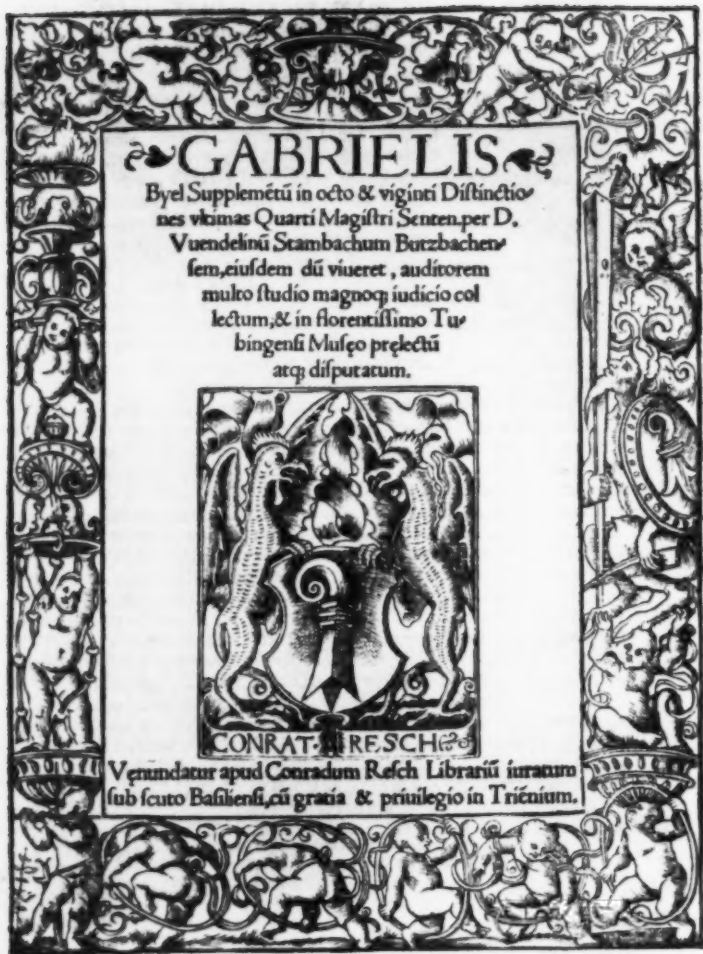
The first one appeared on the *Anti-Morus* of G. Brixius of 1519. In the left-hand top corner is a naked boy holding a shield which bears the monogram of Urs Graf; at the right-hand top corner is a bearded man holding a plate on which is the date 1519. This title-border is not described by either His or Koegler in their account of the work of Urs Graf.¹ The same border may be seen on three other books undated, two without place or printer's name. The first (Plate 1) is the *Probatis-simorum ecclesiae doctorum sententie*, attributed to the press of Pierre Vidoue, a printer who did much work for Resch, and the second a Luther tract, *Quare pape ac discipulorum eius libri a M. Luthero combusti sint*, the German editions of which work were printed at Wittenberg in 1520. According to the Weimar edition of Luther's works (1883, &c., Bd. 7, p. 152, seq.) there were two other Latin versions, but neither of them agrees with the edition here described. I have seen only the title-page of this book, but in view of the fact that this border is printed from the same block as that of the Brixius and the other book mentioned, I conclude that the book was printed at Paris for Conrad Resch. The border makes a fourth appearance in a controversial tract by Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, against Erasmus, printed by Gilles de Gourmont and entitled *Apologia contra quorundam calumnias*.

The second title-border by Urs Graf appears in the *De aequinoctiorum solsticiorūque inuentione* of Albertus Pighius, no

¹ His, *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss des Werks von Urs Graf*, in Zahn's 'Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft.' (Jhrg. 6, p. 145, &c., and H. Koegler in 'Anzeiger für Schweiz. Altertumskunde, 1908, N. F. Bd. 9, p. 43, &c.)



1. Urs Graf border.



2. Urs Graf border. (Reduced from 151 × 202 mm.)

date, but presumably 1520, and no printer's name, but printed by Vidoue (Resch does not appear to have printed himself). In the right-hand top corner is Graf's mark with the dagger. This title-page is described by His, No. 319. As far as I know it appears only at Paris. Another book with the same border (Plate 2) is the *Supplementum* by Gabriel Biel, Josse Bade, 1521.

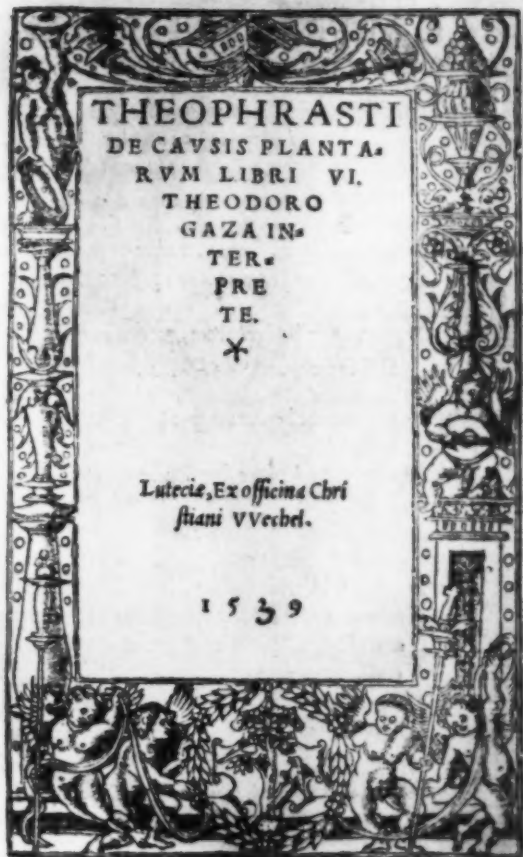
The third title-border may be seen in Asconius Pedianus' *In orationes M. Tullii Ciceronis enarrationes* of 1520. This border (No. 318 in His) also is dated 1519 and is signed with Graf's monogram at the foot. It depicts the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, the judgement of Paris, and the medieval legend of Virgil. Like much of Graf's work this legend is treated with great coarseness. Other examples of the use of the border are: the Greek Dictionary of Crastonus, Pierre Vidoue, 1 July, 1521 (at the end of this book is a device used by Resch which is not in Silvestre, three beasts being crushed in the folds of a serpent, cut on metal by I. F. after Holbein¹) and the *De primatu Petri aduersus Ludderum* of Johann von Eck, Pierre Vidoue, 1521. In Etienne de L'Aigue's Commentary on Pliny, a book printed by Vidoue for Poncet Le Preux and Galiot Du Pré, it appears as late as 1530. This title-border has quite a long history at Paris, as it was copied for Philippe Le Noir, probably by Geofroy Tory, who signed it with the Lorraine cross. Le Noir used this copy on the title-pages of many books, especially French romances, e.g., *L'histoire du Sainct Graal*, dated 24 October 1523, and *Le propriétaire des choses*, translated by Jean Corbichon, 1525. Philippe Le Noir was the printer of another book, *L'experience et approbation Vlrich de Hutem touchant la medecine du boys dict Guaiaicum*, which has a title-border copied from one of the best known of the borders designed by Hans Holbein for Froben, the John the Baptist border; the

¹ This is probably the earliest block after Holbein appearing at Paris. Cf. H. Koegler in 'Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft', 1911, p. 401 seq., the only account (a summary one) of Holbein's work for the Paris presses.

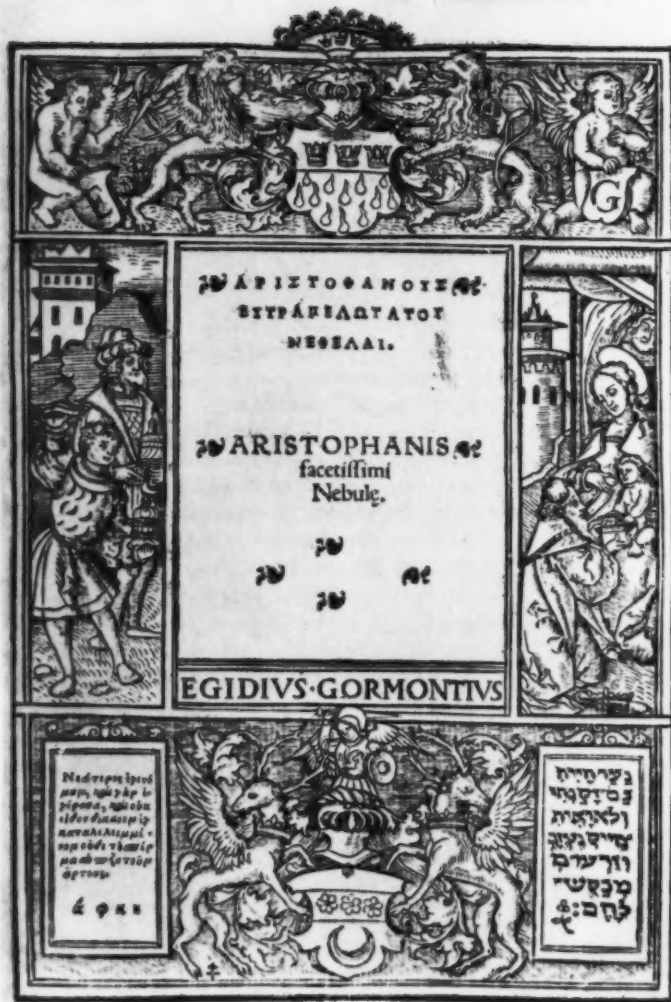
original may be seen in the *Carteromachus* of 1517. The French copy is found again in *Les Cent Nouvelles*, undated, and *Merlin*, 1528.

A number of other books published by Resch have woodcut borders in the Basle style, e.g., *Conuulsio calumniarum V. Veleni quibus Petrum nunquam Rome fuisse cauillatur per Ioannem Roffensem* [Fisher], undated. The original edition of this work was printed by Vorsterman at Antwerp in 1522. The book contains Fisher's reply together with the original 'calumnies' of Velenus. As further examples we may mention two works of Erasmus printed by Vidoue in italic type for Resch in 1523, the *De interdictu esu carni* and the *Paraphrasis in Evangelium secundum Ioannem*, which have a title-border indirectly derived from Holbein.

All these books show the influence of the Basle borders only, but Pierre Vidoue himself, after the close of Resch's career at Paris in 1526, issued a number of editions of Erasmus, which are exactly like Basle books in title-page, initials and typography, e.g., the *Vidua Christiana* and the *Responsio ad epistolam paraeneticam Alberti Pii*, both of 1529. The set of figure initials used in these books are not exact copies of any used at Basle, but a comparison with initials used by Adam Petri (No. XXXV in Schneeli and Heitz *Initialen von Hans Holbein*) will show their origin. Good examples of these initials will be found in the *Tractatus noticiarum Gervasii Waim*, 1528, Vidoue for Jean Petit and Chrestien Wechel, and in Claude Seyssel's translation from Xenophon, *Historie du voyage que fist Cyrus*, 1529, Vidoue for Galiot Du Pré. In 1531 Vidoue printed for Poncet Le Preux and Galiot Du Pré *Les Commentaires de Jules Cesar*, translated by Etienne de L'Aigue and R. Gaguin. In addition to the set of initials already referred to this book contains six borders after Urs Graf and three other initials (the A, C, and D) copied from a well-known set of German initials (they had been used already in 1527 by Vidoue in the *Cronique et Histoire* of Archbishop



3. Holbein border.



4. Gilles de Gourmont border. (Reduced from 124 × 178 mm.)

Turpin, printed for R. Chaudière). The borders are described in His (No. 327). The three initials are copied from a set cut by Hans Weiditz (? after Dürer) for Negker of Augsburg in 1521.¹ These were widely copied: e.g., by Cervicornus at Cologne, by Gryphius, Dolet, and François Fradin at Lyons, and at Antwerp.

In August 1526 Resch's shop was taken over by Chrestien Wechel, who had previously been Resch's agent. Wechel printed a large number of books at Paris from this date until his death in 1563, and nearly all of them show traces of Basle influence. For example the Galen, *De plenitudine*, 1528, has initials, the Theophrastus, *De historia et causis plantarum* of 1529 (Plate 3) has a woodcut title-border (attributed to Holbein by Didot) and initials in the style of Basle and much later, in 1550 and 1551 Wechel issued various books by Louis Meigret, which typographically are excellent examples of French Renaissance work but still have the same German initials, a set which originally perhaps belonged to Simon Du Bois. Wechel also had two other Holbein title-borders, one a copy of the 'Cleopatra' border (see his *Cathena aurea super Psalmos*), the other a border depicting the crowning of Homer and entirely different from another Holbein cut of the same subject which passed to Gryphius at Lyons (see *Le liure faisant mention des sept parolles que Jésuchrist dit en l'arbre de la croix*, 1528). Another typical French printer, Michel Vascosan, also used Basle initials. In his edition of Cicero's Letters of 1534, and other books, will be found a curious set of figure initials on a white background, which are attributed to Basle by Schneeli and Heitz (No. LI). I don't know at what date they appear at Basle, but I believe that in this case they appeared first at Paris in 1530 at the press of Gérard Morrhé, and were possibly designed by Oronce Fine.

In typography proper the Basle printers influenced Paris in the printing of Greek and italic. We know that when Erasmus expressed his regret that Josse Bade had no Greek type, Bade

¹ See M. J. Friedländer, *Holzschnitte von H. W.*, 1922.

made good his deficiencies from Basle. Proctor in *Bibliographical Essays*, p. 97 seq., has shown that the printers of Greek at Paris up to 1540 can be divided into two schools; the one school following Italian models, and the other the Basle printers. Of this latter school were Bade, Vidoue, Wechel, and Gérard Morrhé. Much the same division might be made in the matter of italic types. Printers like Vidoue and Wechel, about the same year in which Colines introduced his new, non-Aldine italic, were using an Aldine italic derived from Froben.

I will conclude with two more examples of title-borders of South German or Basle style. In 1528 Vidoue printed for Gilles de Gourmont an edition of Aristophanes, of which each play has a woodcut title-border of German origin (Plate 4), though the cut is signed with the Lorraine cross. The sides represent the adoration of the Magi, at the foot are extracts from the Psalms, on the left in Greek, with the date (1527), on the right in Hebrew; at the top and bottom Gourmont's arms, with the letters E. G. There was also a Demosthenes, *Λόγοι Ολυνθιακοί*, with the same border issued in 1528, Plato's *Ἀπολογία* in 1529, a Homer and Aristotle's *Organon* in 1530, a whole series of Greek texts.

The last title-border is from an edition of the Gospels with the commentary of S. Thomas Aquinas, printed by Didier Maheu in 1532. The title-page is surrounded by borders, which are close copies of borders by Urs Graf. They are described by His and numbered 325 b (here repeated on each side of the title-page), 325 d (at the foot), and 325 g (at the top). In the left-hand border at the centre is the letter D, and on the right-hand border an M., initials of the printer D. Maheu. The borders occur again on the title-page of Jean Bouchet's *Les triumphes de la noble dame*, Ambroise Girault, 1536. In this case the left-hand and right-hand borders are transposed, so that the initials read M. D.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Greek Printing Types, 1465-1927. Facsimiles from an exhibition of books illustrating the development of Greek printing shown in the British Museum, 1927. With an historical introduction by VICTOR SCHOLDERER. London. Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1927. (Sold at the British Museum and by Bernard Quaritch, Humphrey Milford). pp. 21. 62 facsimiles. Price £1 1s.

It is twenty-seven years since Proctor published for the Bibliographical Society his monumental study of the printing of Greek in the fifteenth century. When we consider the labour and enthusiasm which have been devoted to the art of printing during the last generation and the extraordinarily beneficent influence they have exerted we cannot but be astonished that the problem of creating satisfactory Greek types has advanced so little. If, however, we have had to wait a long time for any further assistance towards its solution our patience is rewarded by the appearance of Mr. Scholderer's monograph which has been printed by the Clarendon Press for the Trustees of the British Museum.

Of the format of the book and the excellence of its collotype facsimiles one need only say that they are worthy of their printers. Mr. Scholderer's historical survey is a model of compression and of lucid description. I can find no omission and can suggest practically no amendment, and apart from the detailed enumeration and analysis of type faces which are obviously outside its scope, this study seems to me to be final both in form and content. But that it should be possible to make such a statement of an essay which, however admirable, only requires 16 folio pages to cover a period of 460 years, is a melancholy reflection. It is not Mr. Scholderer's fault, but his subject's. And the plain fact of the matter is that until 1927 there never has been a good Greek type. For this reason I shall make no comment upon the older types which Mr. Scholderer reproduces. They are all vitiated by two funda-

mental characteristics. They were either designed by Italians who had no knowledge of Greek or they were adapted from the debased fifteenth-century minuscule which was used by Greek scholars resident in Italy. To speak in any adequate terms of vituperation of Aldus would be difficult, but I do not think that any of the earlier and unquestionably better types belong to a fundamentally sound tradition. Indeed the melancholy record of Greek printing is due ultimately to one fact and one fact only. Fifteenth-century Italy had no knowledge of Greek palaeography, and consequently never realized that if fine Greek types were to be created they must be sought in the East. The great period of Greek writing—I am referring now to minuscules, with majuscules I will deal later—was that of the ninth century. Amongst the most beautiful manuscripts extant are those which belong to the Arethas group. I have no books of reference by me, but its most conspicuous member is, I think, the Codex Clarkianus at Oxford. If this or a similar manuscript had been available in Italy in 1470 the whole history of Greek printing might have been changed. As regards majuscules the problem is more intricate. The vellum codices of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries are for the most part Bibles or they are devoted to patristic and ecclesiastical writings. Their subject-matter seems to have exercised a depressing and cramping influence upon their scribes. Their uncials have received a wholly unmerited commendation which is due partly to the beauty of the material upon which they are written, and partly to the care and precision with which they are inscribed. But their form is in reality stiff, prudish, and inhibited. They are not comparable to the uncials of such a manuscript as the Bankes Homer which belongs, if my memory serves me correctly, to the second century B.C. These have a freedom and grace which it is difficult to praise too highly. Unfortunately the cursive writing of the same period is useless for the purposes of a lower-case.

I must add a few words about three modern types which Mr. Scholderer reproduces and which merit serious attention. He rightly criticizes the Bremer Press type as too deliberately calligraphic. It has the appearance of a script designed by a cultivated and skilful scribe who knew no Greek and had learnt it for the purpose of designing this fount. It is pretty and refined, but it has, so to speak, no 'background'. The two other types are that of Proctor, which is based upon Arnaldo Guillen de Brocar's, and the type Mr. Scholderer has himself adapted from that of Joannes Rubeus. Mr. Scholderer reiterates the praise which Proctor's type has received. I cannot agree with him. I have never understood why it has attained to such universal approbation. It seems to me if not actually clumsy, much too broad and ponderous in face and its general effect is oppressive. I certainly found it so when reading through the *Oresteia* in the edition published after Proctor's death. In any case, as Mr. Scholderer observes, it will not bear reduction to a commercial size. The most beautiful type in this book is not Proctor's but the 'New Hellenic', especially in 12-point form. It is modest, dignified, extremely legible, and above all the proportions of the individual letters are properly co-ordinated. This factor alone places it, in my opinion, immeasurably above Proctor's type, and it has been an added pleasure, to one reader at any rate, that he has closed the book upon the finest plate that it contains. And yet, much as I admire the 'New Hellenic' type, I do not think it is final. Has indeed Greek printing ever had a real chance, and will it ever have, until its designers have studied and assimilated Greek writing throughout the centuries in which it was the living language of the scribes who used it? Greek writing became, as all things must, decadent and finally succumbed. To resuscitate it must be of necessity a long and arduous process. But it is not impossible. Without Strawberry Hill and the countless atrocities of the Gothic Revival, we should never

have gradually attained, through Sir Gilbert Scott, Bodley, and others, to the knowledge and finally to the liberation of spirit which have conceived the design of Liverpool Cathedral.

To create a satisfactory Greek type, an entity in one sense so abstracted and yet of so profound a content, is a task of tremendous difficulty. Could not the Bibliographical Society embark upon the adventure? μέγα τὸ κινδύνευμα ἀλλὰ μέγα τὸ ἄθλον.

T. D. BARLOW.

A review of recent typography, in England, the United States, France and Germany. By STANLEY MORISON. With sixteen illustrations. *The Fleuron Limited*, 1927. (Printed by Walter Lewis, M.A., at the Cambridge University Press.) pp. 62. Price 6s.

THIS prettily planned booklet contains revised versions of four articles, of something under 2,500 words apiece, which originally appeared in *A Brief Survey of Printing* (1922), now out of print for over three years. Each article has four illustrations and traces the history of the modern movement, in England from the days of Pickering, in France from those of Didot, and in the United States and Germany from the first enthusiasm aroused by the work of William Morris. The brief historical sketches of the lines of development in France and Germany are the best of their kind available for English readers; for England and the United States the interest of what Mr. Morison writes (though there is nothing to be said against his history) lies mainly in his criticisms. He is concerned that 'generally the responsibility for the design of a book is nowadays assumed by its publisher', although he grants that 'in the case of several eminent London houses this practice has more than 'justified itself'. How it came about he seems uncertain, for in successive paragraphs he writes of the publishers 'having consistently deprived the printer of the opportunity of showing 'initiative' and of 'the initiative in book design surrendered by the printer to the publisher'. Whether the loss of it was a

deprivation or a surrender the initiative might speedily be regained by any printer who, instead of always looking to publishers as his paymasters, would occasionally print a book to please himself and pay a publisher to publish it, and we should be glad to see the experiment tried. We share Mr. Morison's regret that Mr. St. John Hornby 'has used none but his fine neo-Subiaco type for more than twenty years', but printing is Mr. Hornby's hobby not his business in life, and it should be enough that what he has attempted he has done extraordinarily well. A final suggestion that 'it would add to the interest of 'English book production if typographers and publishers would 'consider less nervously than in the past the subject of coloured 'illustration' may be strongly backed. The charm which colour on a judiciously small scale can lend to books can hardly be overrated.

In his paper on work in the United States Mr. Morison notes that, while in commercial printing England follows the States, in book-printing the tendency is for the States to follow England. It is suggested, however, that if American book-printing can be called somewhat pedestrian its concentration upon the details of setting and spaces is of extreme value, and that it is in the eminent thoroughness of his technique rather than 'the cunning combination of typographical ornaments or allusive inventions and decorations' that Mr. Bruce Rogers has shown his strength. This is probably the opinion of Mr. Rogers himself, who uses ornament continually more sparingly, but with such recurring charm that it may be hoped he will never abandon it.

A. W. P.

The Plague in Shakespeare's London. By F. P. WILSON. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1927. pp. xii, 228. 12s. 6d. net.

THIS treatise on the plague and the measures taken to deal with it in London and its outskirts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries grew out of the information collected by Mr. Wilson in editing *The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker*

(1925), and like that is an excellent piece of work. Details are so much more abundant after Shakespeare left London than for the earlier period that it is not clear why his name should be brought into the title. We are grateful, however, for the information that between his retirement and his death the population of Greater London was probably rather over a quarter of a million. Information is given on several matters which concern bibliography. The Orders of the Lord Mayor with reference to the Plague were printed and fixed upon posts in 1574 'perhaps for the first time', but neither of this, nor of the important collection of twenty-one Orders of 1583 is any copy now known, though twenty were delivered to each alderman. An appendix of twenty pages is devoted to the Bills of Mortality, and this gives many details as to printing and the ownership of extant copies or sets. The printers of the earliest extant weekly bills were Windet (1603) and Stansby (1611), but in 1626 a press for printing them was set up in the Parish Clerks' hall. Among the twenty illustrations to Mr. Wilson's book are facsimiles of the weekly and yearly bills for 1603 and 1625, and a blank form, filled up for the week 23 February 1608-9.

Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers, 1515-1690. In the National Library of Wales and elsewhere. London, Humphrey Milford, 1926 [1927]. pp. xx, 512. Price 21s. net.

THESE Wynn papers are of extraordinary human interest, especially those which illustrate the characters of Sir John Wynn (1553-1626), author of the *History of the Gwydir Family*, which first got into print in 1770, and of his sons. The calendar-ing is very well done, and the collection is of importance for the life of the time not only in Wales, but also for the news sent in letters from London and in the evidence as to how business was done at Court and at the universities. Besides references to a score of other books there is information as to the Welsh

metrical translation of the Psalms and the Welsh dictionary of Thomas Williams, the publication of which was largely due to John Wynn's sons. The story of how the papers themselves were dispersed about 1790, and subsequently, with a few exceptions, reunited at the National Library, is fully told in the introduction, and ten of the missing letters, including the most important of those about the Welsh dictionary are reprinted from *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1781, 1789, 1790, and 1793 into which they had found their way.

The History of Rasselas Prince of Abissinia. A tale. By SAMUEL JOHNSON. Edited by R. W. CHAPMAN. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1927. pp. xxi, 221. 7s. 6d. net. (Also limited edition on handmade paper. 21s. net.)

IN the introduction to this very pleasantly printed edition Mr. Chapman prints some letters, unknown to Boswell, written by Johnson to his mother at the time of her last illness and after her death to his step-daughter, Lucy Porter, referring to remittances of twelve guineas and twenty pounds, and promising more help when needed. The guineas were sent on 13 January (1759), the twenty pounds on 27 January, and between the two dates comes the letter of 20 January to William Strahan promising to 'deliver the book' of *Rasselas* on the 22nd, and stating his terms as £75 apiece for each of two volumes and £25 more for the second edition. Mr. Chapman conjectures that in the end Johnson wrote somewhat less than he had intended, and was therefore content with the payment which Boswell stated, viz. a hundred pounds down, and twenty-five more for the second edition. The new evidence in every way confirms the story that Johnson wrote *Rasselas* in seven evenings to pay for the expenses of his mother's illness and funeral and some small debts of his own, and receipts for three sums making in all £25 for the second edition were at one time in the possession of Clement Shorter.

In his reprint Mr. Chapman follows the second edition

which shows a few changes obviously due to the author (e.g. 'a long race of monarchs had repositd' for 'successive monarchs repositd'), along with some changes of punctuation, mostly omission of commas, which he attributes to the printer and rejects. He has collated the first five editions and the sixth, and reports that a mistake by which in the first edition two consecutive chapters were numbered xxviii was corrected in the third edition, but not in the fourth or sixth.

Annus Mirabilis: the Year of Wonders, 1666. By JOHN DRYDEN. Type-facsimile reprint of the First Edition, 1667. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1927. pp. x, [xii.] 77. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is another pretty reprint, though rather heavily inked. In his Preface the anonymous editor notes two instances of cancelled leaves. Of the first (sig. C 1), the cancellatum as well as the cancellans is preserved in extant copies; of the second no copy is known with the cancellatum, the text of which is however preserved in the pirated edition of 1668 which must thus have been printed from a copy of the *ed. pr.* in its original state.

The Business Man's Guide to Printing. By CHARLES C. KNIGHTS, sales consultant. George Allen and Unwin. pp. 152 [+ 4]. 7s. 6d. net.

ANY one who is managing any kind of business nowadays employs a printer or, in Mr. Knight's phrase, 'buys printing', and often buys illustrations also, and this short treatise will help them to get good value for their money. The chapters on the various photographic processes for making illustrations are unusually clear, and though the draft of the book was in existence before the new Pantone process was announced this also is carefully described. As it is claimed for the process that it enables half-tone blocks to be perfectly printed without resorting to coated papers every one interested in good book-building will wish it success.

Cornell University Library. Catalogue of the Icelandic Collection bequeathed by Willard Fiske. Additions 1913-26. Compiled by HALLDÓR HERMANNSON. Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. pp. ix, 284.

THIS supplementary catalogue of the Fiske Icelandic Collection at Cornell University follows the original catalogue of 1914 in including in a single alphabet works written in the language, works relating to Iceland, wherever printed, and also works concerning the early history of the Scandinavian peoples. The only old or rare book purchased in recent years thought worthy of special mention is a perfect copy of a *Calendarium perpetuum* printed at Skálholt, 1692, the copy already in the collection being incomplete. According to the compiler's interesting preface the establishment of a National University in 1911 has led to a considerable increase in scholarly works; poetry still flourishes, but it is hard pressed by novels and short stories, and some plays have been published despite the fact that Iceland has no professional actors. An annual periodical *Skirnir* has celebrated its centenary, but the oldest weekly has recently died at the respectable age of 66. With other periodicals the island seems surprisingly well supplied. A curious feature in the catalogue is a collection of 671 obituary poems, acquired in 1914 and almost all written in the present century. Nearly thirteen pages of the catalogue are devoted to enumerating them.

The Students' Guide to the Libraries of London, with an account of the most important archives and other aids to study. By REGINALD ARTHUR RYE, Goldsmiths' Librarian to the University of London. Third edition, revised and enlarged with 61 full-page illustrations. London. University of London Press, 1927. pp. xxv, 580. Price 10s. net.

IN 1908, when the first edition of this *Guide* was published, *The Librarian* remarked that 'it would be difficult to overpraise this useful and unpretentious little book' which, by its 'careful

stock-taking of the library facilities of London' and 'notes both as to the histories of the libraries and as to the classes of books to be found in them', offered to students of every description just the information likely to be useful to them. The 'unpretentious little book', after appearing in an enlarged edition in 1910, has apparently been stealthily growing ever since, and is now published as a royal octavo of over six hundred pages with sixty-one full-page illustrations of libraries and notable cuneiform texts, manuscripts, printed books, and bindings. At the amazingly small price of ten shillings it must be the cheapest book of the kind published since the war, and its cheerful red cover is a final attraction. The wealth of information offered about London libraries of every description, except those absolutely in private hands, is made doubly valuable by an 'index and directory' extending to 128 pages.

The Uses of Libraries. Edited by ERNEST A. BAKER, D.Lit. University of London Press, 1927. pp. viii, 318.

THIS is another excellent publication of the University of London Press about libraries and should have been noticed earlier, as it was published some months before the new edition of Mr. Rye's book. There is a good deal of overlapping between the two, both, for instance, giving a considerable amount of space to the British Museum, but the fact that Dr. Baker and his contributors have presented their information in the form of lectures gives a different tone to their descriptions of the libraries about which they talk, while part of Colonel Newcombe's paper on University Libraries and the whole of two others—Mr. W. C. B. Sayers's paper on Library Resources outside London, and that of Professor E. C. Richardson on Library Resources outside Britain—break entirely different ground. In many respects Professor Richardson's paper is the most remarkable in the volume, as it surveys the entire library resources of

the world in order to show what a small (and diminishing) fraction they represent of the total output. Its writer seems to us, however, to over-estimate the proportion of books for which there is an 'occasional' demand, though his remark of the British Museum that while 'it may supply 90 per cent. of the books for which its catalogues are actually consulted in the 'Reading Room, it contains only 20 per cent. of the books which 'are occasionally needed, and thus disappoints readers in tens of 'thousands of cases annually', is probably based on a large experience of consulting the Princeton copy of the Museum Catalogue in vain. The other papers in the volume (nearly all of them good) are on 'The way to use a library and how to read' by Dr. Baker, 'The British Museum—the Collections' by Mr. Arundell Esdaile, 'The British Museum for Research Purposes' by Mr. G. F. Barwick, 'Scientific and Technical Libraries' by Mr. Gomme of the Patent Office, 'The Public Record Office and Archives' by Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, 'Collections of Manuscripts' by Mr. Robin Flower (a charming paper), 'A Specialist Library for Art' by Mr. G. H. Palmer of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and 'The Library Resources of London (other than those treated above)' by Mr. C. R. Sanderson, librarian of the National Liberal Club. It will be seen that Dr. Baker enlisted a goodly team of experts, and they have played up well in answer to his call.

Printing: a short history of the art. By E. CROUS, G. FUMAGALLI, CHARLES MORTET, MAURITS SABBE, JAMES P. R. LYELL, H. R. PLOMER, LAURITZ NIELSEN, L. C. WHARTON, G. P. WINSHIP, LAWRENCE C. WROTH. Edited by R. A. PEDDIE. Grafton & Co., 1927. pp. x, 390.

MR. PEDDIE's idea of persuading ten notable bibliographers each to write the history of printing in the country of which he has special knowledge (in seven of the ten cases his own) was so excellent that it is a pleasure to welcome the book in which it is carried out, despite the haphazardness of its execution.

This is most clearly illustrated in the allotment of space, which is so eccentric that we can only imagine that the book was intended to be a much smaller one, and that some of the writers, Dr. Crous for instance, who sketches the history of printing in Germany in 37 pages of about 300 words apiece, and Signor Fumagalli, who writes of Italy in 25, have kept obediently within their limits, and been sorely hampered by them, while Mr. Charles Mortet has received, or taken, the reasonable elbow room of 50 pages for France, and Mr. Wharton and Mr. Wroth sent in such excellent new copy of 61 pages for Eastern Europe and Slavonic countries and 55 for English-speaking North America that the publishers could not refuse to print it.¹ The haphazardness as to space is not without its compensations, since we are told most about the countries of which English students as a rule know least ; but it is cruel that Dr. Crous and Signor Fumagalli should have been so cramped, as both of them have much to tell that is not to be found in any English book. This sprinkling of entirely new matter is to be found in all the articles on foreign printing, and it is sufficiently valuable for us to hope that this first edition will be speedily exhausted and a new one printed in which the obedient contributors will be encouraged to write at greater length. If a few facsimiles are added, not to make it an expensive picture-book, but where they are needed to make the text intelligible, and some overlapping and needless lack of uniformity redressed, the enlarged book might well become a standard work.

¹ The other allotments are Holland and Belgium (Maurits Sabbe), 31 ; Spain and Portugal (J. P. R. Lyell), 28 ; Great Britain and Ireland (H. R. Plomer), also 28 ; Scandinavia (Lauritz Nielsen), 35 ; Spanish America (G. P. Winship), 13.

The British Museum Quarterly. Vol. II, No. 1 (June); No. 2 (September), 1927. London, published by the Trustees, sold at the British Museum, and by Bernard Quaritch, Humphrey Milford, and Kegan Paul, Trübner & Co. Price 2s. each part.

THE Museum Quarterly keeps up its standard, and each of these numbers is illustrated with seventeen full-page plates of Chinese frescoes, Sumerian sculptured vases, lustred Persian ware, objects from Ur, Egyptian statuettes, English pottery and porcelain, coins and medals (including a magnificent gold medal of Queen Mary Tudor), and a few fine prints and drawings, showing a constant stream of accessions, by gift and purchase, to the various Departments, of which the Trustees may well be proud. Printed books, not lending themselves easily to illustrations of this kind, are a little in the shade; but the June number records the presentation of vol. i of *Monumenta Cartographica Africae et Aegypti*, by H. H. Prince Youssouf Kamal of Egypt, 'the preliminary volume of an extensive work which will deal with the most important maps and geographical representations of every part of Africa from the earliest times to the present day'; and in the September number there is a description of the first edition of Kit Smart's *Song to David*, presented by Mr. S. R. Christie Miller, and of Pynson's edition (c. 1497) of the *Festum dulcissimi nominis Iesu*, and of a printed brief (c. 1515) under letters patent of Henry VIII, inviting subscriptions for the building and maintenance of a Chapel of St. James on Bosworth Field to receive the bones of those slain there in 1485. The note does not say if the chapel was built; presumably if it was it would have fared badly under Edward VI. With the June number was issued a half-title and title to volume i, but no list of contents or index for the four numbers. It would be extravagant to bind less than eight numbers together, and twelve might not be too many. Presumably some instructions will be given as to whether the title and contents

to each quarterly number are to be preserved, or whether when the time for binding arrives a general list of contents and index will be supplied.

The Year's Work in English Studies. Vol. VI, 1925. Edited for the English Association by F. S. BOAS and C. H. HERFORD. Oxford University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1927. pp. 345. Price 7s. 6d. net.

IN this review of the work of 1925 Dr. Herford takes the place occupied for 1923 and 1924 by Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie and writes on General Works of Literary History and Criticism, Miss Dorothy Everett that of Mr. E. V. Gordon for Middle English, which he had temporarily taken on in addition to his own section on Old English Studies, and Sir Edmund Chambers that of Professor A. W. Reed for Shakespeare, which he had temporarily taken on in addition to his own section on *The Renaissance*. Otherwise the team is the same as last year's, and shows a real team spirit, not only, as instanced, in the willingness of its members to fill gaps in an emergency, but in the uniformity of tone and temper. Its competence is so marked that we wish it could work backwards as well as forwards and revive fading memories of the work done before its publication began in 1919-20. Certainly in the present volume, for the period which this critic knows best (1340-1640), the level of sound judgement is very high and the range of the books and papers noted very wide. Both for recalling to students the points of the books they have read and for directing them to others worth reading which they have overlooked the survey is invaluable and worthy of every praise.

The Wandering Scholars. By HELEN WADDELL. With illustrations. London, Constable & Co., Ltd., 1927. pp. xxviii, 292. Price 18s.

To the great profit of its reviewer Miss Waddell's book has been sent to *The Library* for notice though its subject is purely literary, and its only visible connexion with bibliography is that

at the end there are fifteen pages enumerating the learned works which have been used in writing it, chapter by chapter. According to the fashion of to-day this is called a Bibliography, and we gather from the remarks of critics, doubtless better equipped than ourselves, that the books thus listed cover the ground adequately enough for the misuse of the word to be more pardonable than usual. It is not for us to doubt that Miss Waddell has read all the books she cites from cover to cover, but the impression her narrative leaves on one reviewer is that she set each batch in turn in a row before her and just charmed all the good stories and bits of human interest out of them and then went on with her charm until these had all arranged themselves in delightful prose and verse on her paper. Her study is concerned with the *Vagantes* 'as the inheritors of the pagan learning, the classic tradition that came to its wild flowering in the 'rhyming Latin lyrics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries'. The flowers that blew in that particular spring have nothing to do with the case with which *The Library* is concerned, but after reading the book we cannot do less than congratulate Miss Waddell on learning so lightly worn and a style so full of humanity, humour, and grace.

A. W. P.

NOTE

Reprints of Marian Statutes and of *The Fourme of makying Bishoppes* (1559): S.T.C. 9444, 9450, 9455, 16466.

As I have asked Miss Osborne in her article on the *Whitchurch compartment in London and Mexico* (pp. 303-11) to accept my assurance that three editions of Marian Statutes:

- 9444—Anno Mariæ primo. Actes made the seconde day of Apryll. fol. in ed. J. Cawoodi, 1554 (Mense Maio);
 9450—Anno primo & secundo Philippi & Mariæ. fol. In ed. J. Cawooddi, 1555;
 9455—Anno quarto & quinto Philippi & Mariæ. fol. In ed. J. Cawooddi, 1555;
 also
 16466—The fourme and maner of makying bishoppes, priestes and deacons. fol. R. Juggle, 1559;

despite their printed dates, are all later than 1562, it seems only fair to state my grounds in the same number. The date of No. 9455 cannot be right as the fourth year of Philip and fifth of Mary began in July 1558. The date 1555 was probably repeated from that given to No. 9450, as the date 1608 in the [1619] reprint of the *Lear* quarto of that year was unmeaningly repeated in the [1619] *Henry V.* Furthermore, when we find that in these three editions of Marian Statutes and, as far as I can ascertain, in these alone, use was made of the Whit-church compartment in its second state (with initials and arms voided), and that it occurs in its first state on the title-page of the *Falls of Princes*, the supplement to which is dated 10 September 1554, i.e. three or four months after the ostensible date of No. 9444, there is additional ground for suspicion. On consulting Dr. McKerrow, who in his *Printers' and Publishers' Devices* (1913) had recorded the dates without challenging them, he pointed out to me two wormholes, which occur on the lower edge in all three books. They occur also in *The fourme of makyng bisshoppes* (Jugge, '1559'), but they do not occur in Bullein's *Bulwark of Defence* (J. Kingston, 1562), and the inference is, therefore, that all the four official books are later than 1562. This is confirmed by the modern spellings 'sixth' and 'the office' (instead of 'sixt' and 'thoffice') in the table of No. 9444, and it is probable that all four books are not only later than 1562, but considerably later. Miss Osborne's article thus now finally clears up the 'obscure history' of this compartment, as Dr. McKerrow called it in 1913.

A. W. P.